A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of the ROMANS,

TO THE

DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO

His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY is *philosophy teaching by examples.*

Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

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The Seal of the Knights Templers from the Original.

Engravid for Rider's History of England.

THE

History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY *of* HENRY I. *continued.*

HENRY having ſet ſpies upon the conduct of Robert de Beleſme, earl of Arundel and Shrewſbury, they took ſuch advantage of the warmth of his temper, which hurried him into ſeveral unguarded expreſſions, that they ſoon found matter for an accuſation, conſiſting of forty-five articles, which was delivered into the earl's own hand, one day, while he attended at court. As ſoon as the earl had looked

into the bill, he deſired time to prepare his anſwer; which being granted him, he retired to his caſtles, and, inſtead of employing himſelf for that purpoſe, fortified them and put himſelf into a poſture of defence.

The king, not at all ſurprized at his behaviour, iſſued out a proclamation, declaring him a traitour, if he did not come in and ſubmit to a trial within a limited time, and marched in perſon to beſiege the caſtle of Arundel. The garriſon deſiring leave to ſend to their lord, to know whether he ſhould defend or deliver up the fortreſs, Henry indulged them in their requeſt, and, leaving a ſufficient body of troops to block up the place, ordered the biſhop of Lincoln to beſiege Tikehill, while he himſelf advanced into Shropſhire, the greateſt part of which belonged to Robert de Beleſme.

The king's firſt attempt was upon Bridgenorth, which was accounted the ſtrongeſt place in England, and well ſupplied with men, ammunition, and proviſions. The garriſon, conſiſting of a body of Welch, eighty ſtipendiary ſoldiers, and a conſiderable number of the earl's followers, made ſuch a vigorous defence, that, after inveſting the place three weeks, he made no advance in the ſiege, and began to think it impregnable.

When

When Henry began to deſpair of ſucceſs, the haughty diſpoſition of the earl gave riſe to an accident which put him in poſſeſſion of his wiſhes. Robert Beleſme had, by his behaviour, diſguſted William Pantolf, the governor of Stafford caſtle, who immediately quitted his ſervice and entered into that of Henry. By means of a reinforcement of two hundred men, he harraſſed Robert with continual excurſions; but did far more miſchief by his councils than by his arms.

During the ſiege, Pantolf found means to detach Cadogan and Gervat, two Welch princes, from Robert's alliance; who quitted him in his diſtreſs, with a body of forces, which they had brought to his aſſiſtance. Pantolf, not contented with this remarkable piece of ſervice, made uſe of his intereſt with the governour of the caſtle and Welch officers in the garriſon, and prevailed on them to ſurrender it up to the king. In order to give a colour to their ſubmiſſion, the king ſummoned them with a threatening meſſage, declaring that he would hang all whom he found in the place, if it was not ſurrendered within three days. Though the ſtipendiaries knew nothing of the ſecret treaty, Henry permitted them to march off with their horſes, as a mark of his eſteem on account of their fidelity to their maſter.

During the ſiege of Bridgenorth, the principal nobility of England came in a body to the king, to intercede in behalf of earl Robert; but he refuſed to liſten to any terms of accommodation.

Shrewſbury being now the only conſiderable place left in the earl's hand, Henry directed his march towards it. The way was bad and narrow, overgrown with woods and lined with archers to gall the army in their march; but Henry was not to be intimidated with theſe obſtacles: he employed ſix thouſand foot in cutting down the woods and opening the roads, and advanced with a firm reſolution towards Shrewſbury.

The earl now perceiving his condition to be deſperate, met the king as he drew near to the town, acknowledged his crime, offered him the keys of the place, and ſubmitted to the mercy of the king; who, on his ſurrendering Arundel and the reſt of his caſtles, granted him his life and ſafe conduct to Normandy; but confiſcated his eſtate, and involved his brothers in his ruin.

Roger, earl of Lancaſhire; Arnulph de Montgomery, lord of Pembroke; Robert de Pontefract, and Robert de Mallet, were diveſted of their eſtates and baniſhed the realm.

Ivo,

* Ivo, or Hugh de Grentemeſnil, thinking to ſave his poſſeſſions by a piece of fineſſe, mortgaged them to the † king's favourite for fifteen years, while he himſelf went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; but the favourite outwitted him, by refuſing to reſtore them at the expiration of the term, and by that means they were for ever loſt to Hugh's poſterity.

Theſe arbitrary meaſures, though inconſiſtent with the treaty between Henry and his brother, was a very politic ſtep; in as much as it reduced the exorbitant power of the nobility, among whom the lands had been diſtributed with ſuch profuſion by the conquerour, that two or three of them, when united, were almoſt an over-match for the whole power of the crown. By parcelling out their eſtates among a great number of needy adherents, the king encreaſed his authority in the ſame proportion as he leſſened the ſtrength of the nobility, rewarded the attachment of his friends, and ſubſtituted a number of ſerviceable vaſſals in the room of dangerous rivals.

The inſolence of the archbiſhop gave the king more trouble to reduce it, than all the power of the nobility. This prelate had conceived two projects, which could not be executed

* A D. 1102.

† Robert count de Meulant.

executed without difficulty: the firſt was to oblige the prieſts to celibacy, and the ſecond to hinder biſhops and abbots from receiving the inveſtiture of their benefices from the king. To attain his ends the primate convened a ſynod, in which all married prieſts were excommunicated. This decree paſſed without any oppoſition from the king, who did not think his intereſts any ways concerned in this article.

The agents ſent to Rome, had returned about the time of the treaty between Henry and his brother, and brought an anſwer from the pope, inſiſting upon the execution of the canons againſt lay-inveſtiture. Anſelm, encouraged by this deciſion, would have proceeded to excommunicate the biſhops who had received their inveſtiture by the king, in the ſame manner as he had excommunicated the marriage prieſts. But the caſe was quite different; the king was now a party concerned, and was bound in intereſt to oppoſe the incroachment upon a prerogative enjoyed by his anceſtors. If the king was reſolute in maintaining his prerogative, Anſelm was not leſs obſtinate in refuſing to conſecrate the biſhops whom Henry had nominated.

This diſpute, which was carried on with great warmth and obſtinacy by both parties, would have ended in the depoſition of Anſelm,

ſelm, had not his ſervices been ſo recent that it was dangerous to treat him as an outlaw. All hopes of accommodation being deſtroyed by the obſtinacy of the contending parties, Anſelm reſolved to carry his complaints in perſon to pope Paſchal II, who is ſuppoſed to have incited him to embark in this enterprize.

The primate was accompanied to Rome, by thoſe who had quitted their benefices becauſe they would not acknowlege the king's prerogative of inveſtiture; and Henry, at the ſame time, ſent three agents to defend his cauſe, whoſe names were Herbert and Robert, biſhops of Norwich and Litchfield, and William de Warelwaſt, an eccleſiaſtic of great parts and learning. Warelwaſt had the advantage of arriving three days before the primate; and, being a perſon of great addreſs, exerted himſelf to bring the court of Rome to a compliance with his maſter's deſires. He artfully inſinuated, "that Henry "was reſolute to maintain the rights of his "crown; the diſgrace he would ſuffer, in "being deprived of any prerogative enjoy-"ed by his anceſtors; the reſentment it "would occaſion; the conſequences of an "open rupture with the ſee of Rome, "which might lament the ſtoppage of the "large ſums continually flowing thither "from England, when it was too late."

Theſe

These representations had some effect on the conclave, several members of which were, by the address of the agents, inclined to favour the king; but the pope remained immoveably fixed not to make any concessions, though, being unwilling to come to an open rupture, he wrote a very mild letter to the king, thinking to wheedle him, when he found it not in his power to frighten him. He told him, "that he should be glad to "oblige him in any thing that was consist-"ent with justice; that he had no design "of encroaching upon his prerogative; but "the granting a right of investiture to a "layman, was not in his power, as it was "an essential property of church-govern-"ment."

This and some trifling concessions, were all that Warelwast could obtain, though he staid some time at Rome after Anselm's departure. Henry being informed of the ill success of his agents, was not a little dissatisfied with the pope; but turning his resentment against the primate, he ordered Warelwast to acquaint him, when he overtook him, "that he did not desire to see "him in England, unless he was resolved "to conform to the examples of his pre-"decessours." This message determined Anselm, who knew not how to yield, to stop at Lyons, in hopes of finding some alteration

tion in the affairs of the nation, that might warrant his return.

Henry, though thus engaged in maintaining his prerogative againſt the court of Rome, did not looſe ſight of his own intereſt in civil matters. He proſecuted his deſign of reducing the exorbitant power of the nobility, and conſiderably enriched his coffers by the confiſcations of the great barons eſtates, who had declared in favour of his brother. * Among other ſufferers, William de Warrene, earl of Surrey, retiring to Normandy, and complaining to the duke of the loſs of his earldom in his cauſe, Robert, who had a great deal of Quixotiſm or knight-errantry in his compoſition, came over immediately to England, in order to prevail on his brother to make him a reſtitution of his lands and honours.

Henry pretending to take umbrage at his viſit, though he came only with eleven attendants, aſſembled an extraordinary council, to deliberate in what manner he ſhould treat him, and ſent him a formal meſſage to demand the cauſe of his arrival in England.

Robert began now to be convinced of his indiſcretion; and on his expoſtulating with the king about his confiſcation of the earl of Surrey's eſtate, which he repreſented as contrary to the treaty ſubſiſting between them, Henry

* A. D. 1103.

Henry retorted the accuſation in very warm terms, and upbraided him with an equal breach of faith, in granting Robert de Beleſme his father's demeſnes in Normandy.

Robert, now finding himſelf in a very critical ſituation, at the inſtigation of count Meulant, Henry's prime miniſter, conſented to make a preſent of his penſion for one year to the queen, and by that ſeaſonable conceſſion appeaſed his brother's anger, who conſented to reſtore Robert de Beleſme to his eſtate. The duke having thus carried the point he came over to ſecure, returned forthwith to his own dominions, to repent of the conſequences of his unpremeditated conduct, and lament his chimerical notions of honour.

In the ſucceeding year, * Henry gave a ſecond inſtance of his determinate reſolution of breaking the power of the nobility, and of wrecking his revenge on all thoſe whom he ſuſpected to have favoured his brother's deſigns. William, count De Mortagne, and earl of Cornwal, the king's couſin German, claimed the earldom of Kent, as heir to Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, who had accompanied the duke of Normandy in his expedition to the Holy Land, and died at Palermo in Sicily. The

* A. D. 1004.

The demand being made, when Henry was threatened with the late invaſion, the king amuſed him with a favourable anſwer 'till the ſtorm was blown over, which engaged the earl to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. As ſoon as the peace was eſtabliſhed between the king and his brother, the earl having renewed his claim, met with a flat denial. But as it was not conſiſtent with Henry's politics to create an enemy, and leave him time for ſatiating his revenge, he proceeded to call William to account for the retention of ſome lands, which did not belong to him. A formal proceſs was entered againſt the earl, and the juſticiaries, who were the king's creatures, diveſted him not only of the lands, for which he was tried, but likewiſe of the earldom of Cornwall, and all that he held in England. Enraged at this treatment, the earl repaired to his country of Mortagne in Normandy, where he ravaged the lands, which Henry had not yet delivered up according to the treaty with his brother. This behaviour drawing to him a great number of adventurers, who were in hopes of enriching themſelves by plunder, the count and Robert Beleſme, at the head of different parties, harraſſed their native country with continual devaſtations.

The duke of Normandy, lulled aſleep by his natural indolence, and indulging him-

ſelf in luxurious rioting, remained unconcerned in the midſt of theſe exceſſes. Had he indeed exerted himſelf, he ſeemed not to have been in a condition either to have withſtood, or to have prevented them. Carrying good-nature to exceſs, he had not the courage to give any perſon a refuſal: he had either pawned or granted away all his dominions, excepting the city of Rouen; ſo extravagant was he in his expences, that he was frequently reduced to want, and ſo bare of cloaths, that he was often obliged to continue in bed whole days, becauſe he had nothing to dreſs in. He carried his indolent lenity ſo far, that his domeſtics would frequently ſteal his breeches, ſtockings and apparel, while he was in bed.

The Normans, having no hopes of protection from their dukes, Serlo, the biſhop, and Ralph, abbot of Seez, went over to petition Henry for aſſiſtance in their deplorable ſituation *.

This application gave Henry no ſmall ſatisfaction, as it afforded him an opportunity of intermedling in the affairs of Normandy, and

* The duke had indeed made an effort againſt Robert de Beleſme, but being defeated, left the country expoſed to the ravages of the victor; and had been compelled to clap up a peace with him to prevent his proceeding to greater exceſſes.

and furniſhed him with a plauſible pretext, for proſecuting the ſcheme he had formed of reducing it under his dominion. With this view he wrote a letter to his brother, wherein he told him, "That his conduct was "ſuch as could not fail of rendering him "very unpopular, eſpecially as he protected "a ſet of perſons, who ought in juſtice to "be looked upon as enemies to the public: "that the peace he had made with the re-"bels, leaving the country expoſed to their "ravages, his ſubjects could no longer "bear him as their ſovereign, or confide "in his protection: he concluded by ex-"horting him to awake from his lethargy, "to redreſs the grievances complained of "by the Normans, and exert himſelf like "one who had the welfare of his ſubjects "at heart, aſſuring him that he ſhould "think himſelf obliged to declare in favour "of the injured.

Not ſatisfied with his remonſtrances, he paſſed over in the ſummer with a body of forces, not with a view of committing hoſtilities, but to try his intereſt, and to concert meaſures with ſuch as favoured his deſigns. On his arrival, he received the compliments of moſt of the nobility. He endeavoured in vain to ſecure in his intereſt William, count of Evreux, by vaſt ſums of money and magnificent promiſes; but conſidering that it

was in the count's power to diſconcert all his meaſures, he prevailed on the duke, his brother, to give him his ſovereignty, and aſſign him his homage and allegiance. William endeavoured in vain to remonſtrate to the duke on the conſequences of this ſtep: he had given his word, was a man of nice honour, performed the ceremony of tranſferring the earl's allegiance, and ruined himſelf with his eyes open. Henry having thus paved the way for uſurping all his brother's dominions, returned full of hopes to England.

Whilſt Henry thus declared himſelf the protector of the diſtreſſed Normans, he burthened his own ſubjects with grievous taxes, under pretence of maintaining the war with the two tyrants of Normandy, in which the Engliſh had not the leaſt concern. The rigour, with which theſe impoſitions were levied, was ſuch as ſet the character of Henry in a very diſadvantageous light, and ſhowed him to be an arbitrary, poſitive, and implacable tyrant. Such as refuſed to ſubmit to this burthen, either on account of its iniquity, or their poverty, were impriſoned, or plagued by every meaſure that tyranny could torment, or inhumanity contrive.

Henry having aſſembled a numerous army, and amaſſed a prodigious ſum for the

the purpoſes of corruption, he embarked on board his fleet, and having landed at Barfleur, encamped at Carentan *. At this place he was joined by the greateſt part of the nobility, who, being bribed by his preſents, admitted him and his troops into their caſtles. Being further reinforced by Helie, count of Maine, whom he had engaged in his intereſt, and joined by a body of Bretons, whom he had taken into his pay, he inveſted Bayeux, which, though bravely defended by De Launay, the governour, he took by ſtorm. As ſoon as Henry appeared before Caen, the inhabitants opened their gates to him, either from an apprehenſion of their being involved in the ſame calamities as thoſe of Bayeux, or by the force of Henry's money, which he did not ſpare on this occaſion. The ſubmiſſion of Caen ſerved as a precedent to other towns, who readily ſurrendered, as Robert remained inactive, and unable either to traverſe his deſigns, or to put a ſtop to the rapidity of his conqueſts.

The duke of Bretagne, and the count of Anjou, carried their complaiſance ſo far as to permit Henry to garriſon ſome of their frontier towns, for fear of expoſing their country to the danger of becoming the ſcene of war. Among thoſe who had inſtigated

* A. D. 1005.

Henry to this expedition, the archbiſhop of Sez deſerves particular notice. This prelate had been expelled from his dioceſe by the rebellious counts; and had, in revenge, devoted all his intereſt and ſtudy to procure their deſtruction. With this view he cultivated the friendſhip of Henry, and, taking advantage of his ambition, endeavoured by the moſt popular topics to engage him to take arms againſt his brother Robert, and deprive him of his dominions. Henry liſtened willingly to his remonſtrances; and affecting to pity the Normans, at the ſame time, as he expreſſed a reluctance to come to extremities with his brother, conſented to continue the war.

The war being thus renewed with redoubled vigour, and the firſt campaign crowned with remarkable ſucceſs, Henry took the opportunity to return to England, to levy freſh taxes and troops, to put a finiſhing hand to the work which had been ſo happily begun.

Robert being by this time rouſed from his lethargy, by the deplorable ſituation of his affairs, reſolved to make an appeal to the affection of his brother, fondly eſtimating the generoſity of his diſpoſition, by the emotions of his own heart. * In conſequence

* A. D. 1106.

ſequence of this perſuaſion, he repaired to England, expoſtulated with Henry on account of his invaſion of Normandy, and demanded reſtitution of the towns he had taken. The remonſtrances Robert uſed at this time, were far from having the effect which he expected, and the opinion he had entertained of his good nature, was ſadly reverſed by the experience he had of his inſolence. Inſtead of granting his demands, and deſiſting from his enterprize, Henry gave him to underſtand that he might think himſelf obliged to him for having the liberty of returning: and Robert, ſufficiently perſuaded of his reſolutions, quitted the king with a heart full of reſentment, in order to prepare for the defence of his remaining dominions.

* As ſoon as Robert had diſappeared, Henry, either from a remorſe of conſcience on account of his iniquitous proceedings againſt his brother, or from an apprehenſion of ſome diſturbance ariſing in his abſence, on account of the heavy taxes he was obliged to lay on his ſubjects, aſſembled a general council, in order to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects.

Being maſter of an inſinuating addreſs, and a vaſt flow of words, as ſoon as the council

* A. D. 1106. This account is founded on the authority of Matth. Paris, p. 51.

council was ſet, he addreſſed them in a ſtudied ſpeech, wherein he repreſented that "* Robert's † refuſal of the kingdom of "Jeruſalem, had drawn down the anger of "GOD againſt him. He repreſented him "as a perſon of a turbulent, impatient, "ambitious, and inſolent diſpoſition; par- "ticularly

* As we have given only the heads of this ſpeech in Engliſh, we have tranſcribed the whole from Matth. Paris, for the information of the learned reader. "Amici, et fideles mei, indigenæ et naturales! Noſ- "tis, veraci fama referente, qualiter frater meus Ro- "bertus electus et per DEUM vocatus eſt ad regnum "Hieroſolomytanum gubernandum, et quam fron- "toſè illud infeliciter refutaverit, merito propterea a "Deo reprobandus. Noſtis etiam in multis aliis ſu- "perbiam et ferocitatem illius: Quia vir bellicoſus, "pacis impatiens eſt, voſque ſcienter quaſi contemp- "tibiles, et quos deſides vocat et glutones, conculcare "deſiderat. Ego, vero, rex humilis et pacificus, "vos, in pace, in antiquis veſtris libertatibus, pro ut "crebrius jurejurando promiſi, geſtio confovere, et veſ- "tris inclinando conſiliis, conſultius ac mitius, more "manſueti principis, ſapienter gubernare, et ſuper his, "ſi provideritis, ſcripta ſubarata roborare, et iteratis "juramentis prædicta certiſſime confirmare, omnia, "videlicet, quæ ſanctus Rex Edwardus, DEO inſpi- "rante, providè ſancivit, inviolabiliter jubeo obſer- "vari. Ut mecum fideliter ſtantes, fratres mei, im- "mo et mei et totius regni Angliæ hoſtis cruentiſſi- "mi injurias potenter, animoſe, ac voluntarie propul- "ſetis. Si enim fortitudine Anglorum roborer, inanes "Normannorum minas nequaquam cenſeo formidan- "das." Matth. Paris, p. 52.

† Vol. V. p. 192.

"ticularly exaſperated againſt the Engliſh, "and holding them in the higheſt con- "tempt. He painted his other vices in "the moſt glaring colours, and endeavour- "ed to render him odious to the whole "audience. But as a contraſt to this pic- "ture, he repreſented himſelf as a perſon "of great humility, fond of peace, and "thirſting to render his people happy. "After recapitulating ſeveral popular tranſ- "actions during his reign, and expatiating "on the regard he had to preſerve them in "the inviolable enjoyment of their liberties, "he concluded with calling them brethren, "and aſſuring them that while he was ſe- "cure of their concurrence and loyalty, "he ſhould deſpiſe the threats of the Nor- "mans.*"

This ſpeech had its deſired effect upon the audience, who aſſured the king that they were ready to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in his defence. Henry, who had waited for this favourable opportunity, in order to carry his projects into execution, took the advantage of their declaration, to levy an enormous tax on his ſubjects, to ſupport

* Malmeſbury adds, that Henry aſſerted on this occaſion, that he had received letters from pope Paſchal, wherein he adviſed him to undertake this expedition to free the Normans from the miſeries to which they were expoſed by his brother's ſupineneſs.

ſupport the expences of his intended expedition. Yet as he was apprehenſive that his brother might cut him out too much work, by the junction of Robert de Beleſme and the count of Mortagne, he ſent embaſſadours to the king of France and the count of Anjou, preſſing them to take part with him againſt thoſe noble perſonages, on account of the churches which had been conſumed by fire during their civil commotions. His motives to this meaſure, ſhowed him to be a conſummate politician; for it was certain if he could have prevailed on theſe courts to have taken up arms, they would have cauſed ſuch a powerful diverſion that the conqueſt of Normandy would have been attended with little or no difficulty.

The preparations made for an expedition of ſo much importance, kept Henry in England till the latter end of July, when he croſſed the ſea with a numerous fleet and powerful army.

Henry's firſt attempt was againſt Tinnerchebray, a place belonging to William count of Mortagne. Intending to proceed by blockade, he erected a fort over-againſt it, which he furniſhed with a very numerous garriſon: but the count having found means to throw in a reinforcement of men, and a ſupply of proviſions, the king altered his plan, and began

began to beſiege the place in form. The count of Mortagne ſent to the duke and Robert Beleſme for ſuccours, the former of which ordered his brother Henry to endeavour to raiſe the ſiege, menacing him, in caſe of a refuſal, to proclaim war againſt him. Yet perceiving that Henry, notwithſtanding his menaces, refuſed to join him, the duke endeavoured to raiſe a ſufficient army without him, to enable him to raiſe the ſiege. On this occaſion he was joined by conſiderable reinforcements from the king of France, the counts of Mortagne and Beleſme, and ſeveral other Norman nobles. And thinking himſelf ſtrong enough, marched in company with Robert de Eſtoutville and William de Ferrieres, to give battle to his brother Henry. Each of the parties were in the higheſt ſpirits, and, on account of their mutual advantages, very confident of victory. They were upon a par with reſpect to numbers, the duke's army having the advantage in cavalry, as that of the king was more numerous in foot.

Before the two armies engaged, ſome monks interpoſed their friendly offices, in order to prevent the effuſion of blood; but Henry being confident of ſucceſs, refuſed to agree to any terms which Robert could with honour accept. The conditions which Henry

preſcribed

preſcribed on this occaſion, were ſuch as rather became a perſon who had obtained a victory, than one who was to fight for it, and imported no leſs, "than the ceſſion of "one half of the duchy of Normandy to "himſelf, while his brother ſhould be permitted to enjoy the other moiety, on "condition that he did not intermeddle "with the government; or in caſe he "would not conſent to that reſtriction, he "was to cede the whole, on condition of "receiving an equivalent for it, by a penſion from Henry's exchequer." Theſe terms appearing too inſolent to the council of Normandy, were rejected, and both armies prepared themſelves for battle.

The king's army was, on this occaſion, commanded by William d'Evereux, Robert earl of Mellent, William de Warren, and other noblemen of diſtinguiſhed valour. The firſt charge was given by the duke of Normandy, who attacked the main body of the Engliſh with incredible fury; and being ſeconded by Robert count de Mortagne, who commanded one of the wings, the enemy were put into great confuſion, forced to give ground, and almoſt put to flight. The king coming up at this inſtant with a body of horſe to ſuſtain his centre, and having rallied his men, charged the duke's army in front, and Robert de Beleſme being at the

the ſame time put to flight, the enemies foot, for want of being ſuſtained by their cavalry, were totally routed; notwithſtanding their commanders made all their efforts to rally them, and bring them once more to the charge. Robert Beleſme ſaved himſelf by flight; but the duke, ſcorning to turn his back in the field, was taken priſoner, together with * Edgar Atheling, the earl of Mortagne, † William Criſpin, William de Ferrieres, Robert d'Eſtouteville, four hundred knights or horſe, and ten thouſand foot.

Edgar Atheling being now worn out by age, was eſteemed as a perſon of no conſe-

 quence,

* This prince being of the ſame age and diſpoſition with duke Robert, had contracted a ſtrong friendſhip with him. Being hindered from accompanying the duke in his expedition to the Holy Land, by the obligations he was under to reſtore his nephew Edgar to the throne of Scotland, as ſoon as he had accompliſhed his deſigns, he ſet out after the duke, with twenty thouſand Engliſh, and undertook the defence of Laodicea againſt the infidels. After his return with the duke, he continued his attachment to him, living at his court at Roüen, and ſharing his fate in the battle of Tennerchebray, now Tenechebray.

† It is remarkable that this battle was fought on the ſame day of the year as that of Haſtings, and as the duke of Normandy had forty years before ſubdued an Engliſh king, and conquered the kingdom; ſo now an Engliſh king, on the ſame day, aſſiſted by his Engliſh ſubjects, became maſter of Normandy.

quence, and, on being carried to England, was ſet at liberty. The count de Mortagne, Robert d'Eſtouteville, and William Criſpin, were ſent thither likewiſe, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment. William de Ferrieres eſcaped this infamy, by means of the ſurrender of * Falaiſe; the inhabitants of which had ſworn, to deliver that place to no one but to him or the duke in perſon. Though the duke was in the ſame manner inſtrumental to the ſurrender of Roüen, and all the fortreſſes of Normandy; yet he was ſent to England, where he was kept a cloſe priſoner for † twenty-eight years, and

* The ſurrender of this place was of great conſequence to Henry, becauſe it put into his hands William, the only ſon of his brother Robert, and thereby ſecured him the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the duchy of Normandy.

† The treatment of this unfortunate prince, during his captivity, is variouſly reported. Matthew Paris relates, that, during his firſt confinement, he was uſed by his brother with great humanity: but having made his eſcape, was afterwards confined more cloſely, and deprived of his ſight by means of a braſs baſon: ſome ſay, indeed, that the baſon was made red hot, and applied to his eyes; which contradicts the account of the authour laſt quoted, whoſe words are "juſſit eum—— "*fulgenti* obſtaculo oculorum luce privari." Matth. Paris, p. 52. Wikes aſſerts, that his eyes were plucked out, according to the primitive ſenſe of the original, "captum, erutis oculis, minus fraterne quam decue- "rat, captivavit." *Chronic. T. Wicks.* Gale's Edit. p. 25.

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Engravd for Rider's History of England

BRITISH MUSEUM

and died at Cardiff, the laſt place of his captivity.

The victory of Tinchebray having put Henry in poſſeſſion of moſt part of Normandy, nothing was wanting to render the reduction of that duchy complete, but the ſubmiſſion of Robert de Beleſme. This nobleman, highly exaſperated at the king, mentioned him by no other term but that of uſurper, and ſollicited Helie, count of Maine, to join him and make war againſt him. But the count refuſing to take part with him, he was obliged to have recourſe to his mediation, and by his means was reſtored to the king's favour, on condition of his ceding the biſhopric of Seez, Argentan and the foreſt of Gaulfer, on his part, and his being reſtored to the viſcounty of Falaiſe, together with all the offices and benefices which his father, Roger de Montgomery, had enjoyed in Normandy.

Though Henry had thus made himſelf maſter of all Normandy, he declined claiming any right to it as a conquerour, and, calling a great council of the nobility and prelates at Liſieux, the peace of the duchy was eſtabliſhed, and ſeveral laws were made to reſtrain robberies and depredations. The grants by which his brother Robert had alienated his demeſnes, were annulled; the caſtles erected ſince the death of William

the conquerour, were ordered to be demoliſhed; and the homage of the Norman nobility, was commanded to be paid to Henry; who, after theſe acts of recognition, returned to England.

* The firſt thing that the king did, on his arrival, was to call a council, in which the diſpute between him and Anſelm was accommodated. After this, he remedied ſeveral abuſes that had long ſince crept into his court and the kingdom. Among other abuſes which he corrected, was that of his purveyors, who, under pretence of providing for his houſhold, committed the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice. In order to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, he made a proclamation that every perſon found guilty of theſe crimes, ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of his eyes, hands, feet, or ſome other member. The coin of the kingdom being debaſed, by an alloy of two thirds of tin to one of ſilver, he publiſhed an ordinance that all counterfeits of the coin ſhould be puniſhed with loſs of ſight or caſtration. And as the pence in thoſe days were uſually broken into quarters by way of change, which were afterwards refuſed; he ordered that no penny, or half-penny, ſhould be taken in payment, when whole; and thereby adminiſtered no ſmall comfort to the lower rank of people.

Theſe

* A. D. 1107.

These institutions and alterations, probably gave the people a favourable idea of Henry's administration: but it was his unhappiness to be intoxicated with power, and to be elate with success. The assurances he had given them to maintain them in their privileges, he soon forgot; and behaved in a manner that rendered him unpopular. His own charter, in which he piqued himself very much, was frequently violated in cases wherein his own interest was concerned, and wherein the violation contributed to his own profit. Anselm was the only person who engrossed any part of his esteem, or kept him under any degree of awe. The contest he had long supported against this prelate, convinced him of his abilities; and persuaded him, that it was his interest to keep well with him. This prelate had been instrumental in procuring a bill from the pope, whereby the king was to have been excommunicated; and obliged him to make several concessions, in order to prevent its being put into execution. Anselm, convinced of the ascendancy he had over Henry, took the opportunity of convoking a synod at Canterbury, in which he enforced the celibacy of the English, with a strictness not known before. * After this transaction, the peace of the church was disturbed by a

* A. D. 1108.

revival of the old conteſt between the two primates for precedency, which was terminated in favour of Canterbury.

The king having thus eſtabliſhed the peace of his kingdom, viſited his Norman dominions. During his reſidence in theſe parts, he entered into a deſign of ſeizing William, the ſon of his elder brother Robert. This young prince had, upon the ſurrender of Falaiſe, been left to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had behaved towards him with the greateſt care and affection. Henry being jealous of the improvements of his nephew, and the attachment of Helie, reſolved to clap the young prince in priſon, as a ſecurity againſt his attempting any thing againſt his Norman dominions. Robert de Beauchamp, viſcount of Arques, was ſent with a party of horſe to St. Saen, to ſeize on the young prince's perſon; but the viſcount performing his commiſſion with great imprudence, alarmed the town, and gave Helie's ſervant an opportunity to carry off the young prince; who would otherwiſe have fallen into his hands, as he was faſt aſleep when Robert entered the town.

Robert being not a little chagrined at his diſappointment, ſeized on the caſtle of St. Saen, which belonged to William de Warrenne, earl of Surrey, and was himſelf rewarded with the viſcounty of Arques, which belonged

belonged to Helie, who was by this means ſtripped of all his poſſeſſions.

The ill treatment which Helie ſuffered on this occaſion, was far from weakening his attachment or ſhaking his fidelity. His zeal for the young prince's intereſts, was inflamed by his misfortunes; he applied himſelf with indefatigable care to his education, and ſollicited every body to eſpouſe his quarrel. Robert de Beleſme, with whom he had kept up a conſtant correſpondence, entered into his views and ſeconded all his meaſures. Moſt of the Normans grew fond of the young prince, on account of the improvements he daily made in literature, who had viſited the courts of France, Guienne, Burgundy, and Bretagne, and formed conſiderable alliances in every one of them.

* Henry, during this interval, had returned to England; and, on his arrival, was addreſſed by ſeveral German princes, who came over in the quality of embaſſadours, to demand his daughter Maud in marriage for the emperour Henry V. This lady, though no more than eight years of age, was affianced, and ſent the † next year to her ſpouſe,

* This tranſaction is placed by ſome writers in A. D. 1109. and by others in A. D. 1110.

† She was crowned empreſs the ſame year at Utrecht, by the archbiſhop of Cologne, aſſiſted by his ſuffragans and the archbiſhop of Treves, who held her in

ſpouſe, with a ſplendid equipage and an immenſe fortune, to raiſe which a * tax was levied of three ſhillings an hide on all the lands of the kingdom. The joy that Henry was affected with on account of the marriage of his daughter, was ſoon damped by the intelligence he received from Normandy. William, Robert's eldeſt ſon, had ſo much ſtrengthened his party, that Fulk, count of Anjou, promiſed him his daughter Sybille in marriage, together with the county of Maine, of which he had acquired the poſſeſſion by the deceaſe of Helie de la Fleché, who was put to death by Henry, this year, for treaſonable practices. In order to prevent this ſtorm which threatened his foreign dominions, Henry prepared for a voyage to Normandy. But before his departure, ſettled

in his arms during the whole ceremony. The emperour was very ſollicitous of her education, and had her inſtructed in the language and cuſtoms of Germany. By theſe means ſhe endeared herſelf to all the nobility of the empire; and having no children by the emperour, at his deceaſe, returned to England.

* This tax is reported by ſome authours to have brought in no leſs than eight hundred twenty-four thouſand, eight hundred and twenty-five pounds of our preſent money. The cuſtom of raiſing money for the portion of the king's eldeſt daughter, was in practice in Normandy; and Henry being the firſt Norman king who matched his daughter during his reign, was the firſt who introduced it into England.

tled the * Flemings in Pembrokeſhire, as a barrier againſt the encroachments of the Welch. The king's preſence in Normandy, was at this juncture rendered more neceſſary, on account of the alliance which † Louis le Gros had made with the counts of

* Theſe people had flocked over to England in great numbers, on account of an inundation which had happened in their own country. They had come over, both in the reigns of William the conqueror and Rufus his ſon. Henry had at firſt aſſigned them ſettlements in Northumberland; but finding that they were a great burthen to his ſubjects, he wiſely tranſplanted them into Rhôs, a province of North-Wales, included in Pembrokeſhire: thinking, that as they were a hardy, warlike, and induſtrious ſet of people, they might defend his frontiers from the incurſions of the Welch, and be a check upon that people; who, though often defeated, were never to be totally ſubdued.

† This prince had, in the beginning of Henry's reign, paſſed ſome time in his court in England; during his ſtay here, queen Bertrude, his ſtep-mother, ſent letters to Henry, ſigned with his father's ſignet, deſiring that Louis might be arreſted and put into priſon. The king, inſtead of complying with her requeſt, laid the letter before the council, who were unanimous in deteſting ſo wicked an action. Henry having inſinuated the purport of this letter to Louis, he returned home immediately; and, by the ſuddenneſs of his appearance, diſconcerted all the machinations of his enemies. This act of friendſhip attached Louis ſo firmly to Henry's intereſts, that he joined him in his expedition againſt his brother Robert, contrary to the ſentiments of his father, who blamed his conduct as impolitic,

of Anjou and Flanders, in behalf of the late duke's ſon.

The war in Normandy was juſt kept alive by the contending parties for two years, during which their ſucceſſes were various. The gaining poſſeſſion of the perſon of Robert de Beleſme, though attended with an act of treachery, put Henry's affairs into a repectable poſture. This nobleman had taken his ſon-in-law Rotrou, count of Mortagne, priſoner, and treated him with ſome degree of inhumanity; but being ſent ambaſſadour by the king of France, to whom he was a vaſſal, was ſeized by Henry's orders at Bonneville, on the Touque, as he was making propoſals for an accommodation. The pretence with which Henry palliated this violation of the laws of nations, was, that he had ſeized him for contumacy in not appearing at his courts, after being ſummoned three times, to anſwer to ſeveral allegations made againſt him. * Under colour of not giving

politic. When Louis ſucceeded to the crown of France, the good underſtanding between the two princes was interrupted, on account of Henry's ſeizing Giſors, in violation of the treaty ſubſiſting between the two crowns. A peace was concluded between the parties, which was again broken by Henry, in aſſiſting his nephew Theobald, count of Blois, in his revolt againſt Louis; which contributed not a little to his alliance in ſupport of William's pretenſions to the duchy of Normandy.

* A. D. 1111.

giving ſatisfaction on this head, * Robert was ſent to Cherbourg, and from thence to England, where he was condemned to perpetual impriſonment at Wareham in Dorſetſhire.

The king of France, thus bereſt of two powerful confederates, and unable to reſiſt the rapidity of Henry's conqueſts, who had by this time taken Alenſon, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes belonging to Robert de Beleſme, he was glad to hearken to propoſitions of peace; which proving very advantagious to Henry, were ſoon ratified to the ſeeming ſatisfaction of both parties. The conditions of this treaty, ſtipulated that Henry ſhould keep all he had gotten, excepting the reſtoring of William count d'Evreux, Amaury de Montfort, and Criſpin, to their lands in Normandy; Louis was likewiſe to reſign all his right to the earldom of Maine, and his claim to the ſovereignty of Bretagne. Fergant, earl of Bretagne, did homage to Henry for the duchy of Bretagne. Fulk, count of Anjou, was allowed

* William of Malmeſbury endeavours to ſteel the heart of his reader from the relentings of pity, on account of the ſufferings of this noble perſonage, whom he repreſents as turbulent, perfidious, and cruel; telling us that he put out the eyes of a boy who had been given him as an hoſtage by his father, for a trifling fault committed by his parent.

allowed to keep poſſeſſion of Maine, on condition of his doing homage to Henry, and giving his daughter to William, Henry's ſon, whom he had before contracted or affianced to William, the ſon of duke Robert.

This alliance proved of ſingular advantage to Henry, in enabling him to reduce the caſtle of Beleſme, which had been ſeized by Americ de Valerie, and held out againſt him with great obſtinacy. But the king being joined by Fulk earl of Anjou, Theobald earl of Blois, and others in the ſame intereſt, carried on the attacks with ſo much vigour that the place was taken by aſſault, after a ſiege of three days, and reduced to aſhes.

* Henry having thus eſtabliſhed his affairs in Normandy, returned to England, his native country, and applied himſelf to remedy ſuch grievances in the church, as had rendered his character ſomewhat odious to the eccleſiaſtics. † The ſee of Canterbury had now been vacant for five years, during which he had ſeized on the revenues, and applied them to his own uſe. The pope had

* Henry was in France all the year 1112. The year 1113 ſeems to have been rendered remarkable by no circumſtance of note, unleſs the caſualty by which Worceſter was burnt to the ground, together with the caſtle and monaſtery.

† A. D. 1114.

had ſent him remonſtrances on this head, and at laſt prevailed on him to fill up this vacancy, by one Ralf, who was biſhop of * Rocheſter. Turſtan, one of the king's chaplains, was nominated to the ſee of York, and all the other vacancies in the kingdom were filled up. The king ſhewed ſo much partiality to foreigners, in conferring the vacant benefices upon them, that he raiſed no leſs diſcontent on account of his filling them, than he had done before in keeping them vacant, and in his own hands.

† After the eccleſiaſtic affairs of the kingdom were thus diſpatched, Henry turned his thoughts towards making an expedition againſt the Welch. He was incited to this attempt by Hugh earl of Cheſter, and William Strongbow earl of Chepſtow, whoſe territories had been ravaged by Owen ap Cadogan, a Welch nobleman. As a farther motive to this undertaking, it had been repreſented to the king that Griffyth, prince of North-Wales, had withdrawn his allegiance, and abſolutely refuſed to pay his tribute. This refuſal incenſed Henry ſo

* Carte and Rapin ſay that he was biſhop of Rocheſter. Matth. Paris aſſerts that he was biſhop of London, under the year 1113; but under the year 1114, ſtiles him biſhop of Rocheſter.

† A. D. 1114.

highly, that he made great preparations, vowing no leſs than the ruin and extirpation of the Welch in thoſe parts. With this diſpoſition he ſet out with a conſiderable army, which he divided into three parties, intending to attack the enemy in different places, and thereby render their deſtruction more certain. The firſt diviſion, under the command of William earl of Chepſtow, was deſigned againſt South-Wales; the ſecond, conſiſting of Scots and the inhabitants of the North of England, under the command of Alexander king of the Scots, and Hugh earl of Cheſter, marched againſt North-Wales; and the king himſelf followed with the main body, to act as occaſion ſhould require. As ſoon as the Welch had received intelligence of the king's march, Meredyth ap Blethwyn made his ſubmiſſion; but Owen ap Edwin, another Welch nobleman, fled for ſhelter to Griffyth ap Conan, prince of North-Wales. Henry hearing of his flight, went in purſuit of him, marching towards Murcaſtel, at the ſame time as the Scottiſh king took his route to Pennant Bachwy. The inhabitants, on the king's approach, retired to their mountains; and taking all their proviſions and cattle with them, put the king's army to great diſtreſs. Such of the king's forces as had entered into theſe faſtneſſes, in order to diſlodge the enemy,

enemy, were either ſlain in the defiles or obliged to give over the attempt. The Scottiſh king being by this time convinced that it was impoſſible to do any thing by force, was willing to try milder methods, and ſent deputies to the Welch king, adviſing him to ſubmit, and promiſing him the king's favour. But the Welch prince ſuſpecting his offers of treachery, rejected them and ſtood upon his defence.

Whilſt this treaty was in agitation, Henry ſent his emiſſaries to Owen ap Edwin, perſuading him to deſert the Welch prince, as a perſon unable to protect him, and on the point of making a ſeparate peace with the Scottiſh king and the earl of Cheſter. Owen at firſt gave no ear to the king's offers, till prevailed on by his uncle Meredyth; he then made his peace with Henry, from an apprehenſion that the Welch prince had a mind to be before-hand with him, and was negotiating a treaty of peace without him. On his coming to Henry he was received with great marks of favour, and was told by him, "that as he had placed ſo "much confidence in his honour, he was "determined to prefer him and all his fa-"mily, and would permit him to enjoy all "his lands without any tribute."

Griffyth ap Conan being apprized of this treaty between Henry and Owen ap Edwin,

thought it expedient to make the beſt terms for himſelf; and, on his ſubmiſſion, was granted peace, on condition of his paying Henry a conſiderable ſum of money to defray the charges of his expedition.

* After this expedition Henry paſſed into Normandy, where he obliged the ſtates of that kingdom to recognize his ſon William for his ſucceſſour, and to ſwear fidelity to him. On his return to England, he received intelligence that Rees ap Tudor, ſon to the late prince of South-Wales, was harboured by Griffyth ap Conan, with whom he had concluded the late treaty. As he was apprehenſive that the fugitive prince might cauſe ſome diſturbances, he ſent his emiſſaries to Griffyth with great preſents and magnificent promiſes, by which he prevailed on him to ſend him the head of the prince, who had come to his court in confidence of protection. Griffyth, ſeduced by the king's offers, repaired to Aberfraw, in order to put Henry's deſign in execution; but Griffyth ap Rees being apprized of his intention, fled to the church of Aberdaron as to an aſylum. The Welch king, highly exaſperated at the diſcovery of his deſigns, and the abortion of his ſcheme, ordered him to be taken out by force, without the leaſt regard to his ſanctuary: but the prieſts, fully determined

* A. D. 1115.

determined to maintain the privileges of the place, oppoſed Griffyth's orders, and conveyed the fugitive to Stratywy in South-Wales, where he collected a body of Flemings and Normans, and made conſiderable depredations in the Engliſh counties.

Whilſt Henry was in Normandy, he received an expoſtulatory letter from the pope, by the hands of Anſelm, a Roman abbot, and nephew to the late archbiſhop of that name. As the abbot was charged with a pall for Ralf, the king allowed him to proceed to England, in order to diſcharge that part of his meſſage; though he had given him but ſmall encouragement, with reſpect to the other part of his commiſſion.

When Anſelm arrived in England, he was received very joyfully; and repairing to Canterbury, with the pall in a ſilver box, the archbiſhop went barefooted to meet him, attended by all the monks of St. Auguſtine's and Chriſt-Church. * The pall was firſt placed upon the high altar, after which it was put on the archbiſhop's ſhoulders, who, having firſt taken an oath of fidelity and

* The authour has been the more circumſtantial in this relation, in order to explain the manner in which the palls were received from the pope, and the end for which they were ſent, namely, the extortion of an oath of obedience from the receiver.

canonical obedience to the pope, was enthroned; and having, with the assistance of Tillchard bishop of London, consecrated Theobald bishop of Worcester, the ceremony ended.

As Henry meditated an expedition against France about this time, he was willing to guard against any disturbance that might happen in relation to the succession, in case of his being taken off by some accident abroad. For this purpose he assembled all the clergy, nobility, and commons of the realm, and made them swear fealty to his son, in case of his own death, as he had done the preceding year to his subjects in Normandy. After this he levied enormous taxes, in order to enable him to carry on his designs, and set out to take upon him the command of his army in Normandy.

Henry had grounds to suspect that Louis le Gros, king of France, had been concerned as an incendiary in all the disturbances which had happened in Normandy, and resolved to take the first opportunity to act the same part against him, when an opportunity offered. He was not long before an occasion presented itself, and embraced it with a degree of pleasure that malice only can conceive. Theobald earl of Blois, the king's nephew, having taken up arms against Louis, Henry furnished him with succours; which

was

was ſo higly reſented by the French king, that he immediately ſet up William, duke Robert's ſon, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with all his forces, to recover the duchy of Normandy. At the ſame time he demanded the liberty of Robert, whom the king kept at that time in cloſe cuſtody.

Henry, in order to divert the ſtorm which was preparing againſt him, had made an alliance with the count of Bretagne, in concert with his nephew Theobald; and marching with the united army againſt the French, who, under the king of France and the earls of Flanders and Anjou, had penetrated into Normandy, they retired as ſoon as they heard he was coming againſt them. The enemy, intimidated by the number of Henry's forces, inſtead of executing their project, were glad to come to terms with the Engliſh; and Giſors was ceded to Henry, on condition of its being demoliſhed.

* Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in Normandy, a dangerous inſurrection was formed in Wales.

Griffyth ap Rhees, taking the advantage of the king's abſence, aſſembled his forces, with which he took ſeveral forts, and ravaged the country. Elate with his petty ſucceſſes, and reinforced by a conſiderable number

* A. D. 1116.

number of men, he penetrated into the counties of Rhos and Dywent, laying waſte all before him. Owen ap Rhytherech, and Rytherech ap Tudor, with other Welch noblemen and Flemings, having conſulted together in order to ſtem the torrent of the enemy, and to prevent the caſtle of Caermarthen from falling into their hands, agreed to keep guard in the place alternately every fortnight. Griffyth, however, being informed by his ſpies that the caſtle was but weakly garriſoned, came unexpectedly before it, intending to take it by ſurprize. Owen ap Caradoc, who then commanded in the place, actuated with a raſh impetuoſity, which is the characteriſtic of his nation, immediately ſallied out; but being deſerted by his men, who all ran away, he was ſlain on the ſpot; the town was taken and burnt, and the caſtle partly reduced to ruins. The war in theſe parts was carried on for ſome time, till ſuppreſſed by the king's troops, who obliged Griffyth to retire to his own territories.

The peace concluded with the French court, and the happy termination of the diſturbances in Wales, would have given the king ſome ſatisfaction, had it not been prevented by the deceaſe of his royal conſort; who was univerſally lamented by the Engliſh,

liſh, both on account of her extraordinary merits and * high birth.

† The flames which were ſmothered, rather than extingiſhed, in Normandy, by the late treaty, ſoon broke out afreſh, and burnt with redoubled fury. The chief incendiary was Amaury de Montfort, nephew and heir to the late count of Evreux, who demanded his uncle's ſucceſſion; but being refuſed by Henry, took up arms againſt him, and engaged moſt of the nobility in his quarrel. William de Pointel, governour of Evreux, delivered that city to him; and the biſhop, with the reſt of the clergy, were obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. After this he was joined by Robert de Gournay, Stephen earl of Aumale, the counts of Eu and Breteuil, Richies baron l'Aigle, Reginal de Bailleul, and Robert de Newburgh. But the king of France declaring likewiſe againſt Henry, under pretence of his not

* The character of this princeſs deſerves our notice, as ſhe was poſſeſſed of every qualification to adorn a private perſon as well as a great princeſs, being humble, charitable, devout, extremely affable, and of an addreſs that endeared her to all that knew her. She was neither elate in proſperity, nor dejected in adverſity; her only foible, was too great a fondneſs for foreigners, eſpecially ſuch as were eminent in church muſic; to whom ſhe was ſo profuſe of her bounties, that ſhe would often run in debt to reward them.

† A. D. 1117. A. D. 1118, by others.

not demoliſhing the caſtle of Giſors, according to treaty, the revolters began to grow inſolent, and, having penetrated into Normandy, burnt ſeveral towns and caſtles.

Henry ſeeing his dominions thus invaded on all ſides, knew not what meaſures to take to extricate himſelf from his troubles. While he remained inactive, the Norman nobility declared for his enemies, and the defection was ſo general that he knew not whom to confide in. Euſtace de Breteuil, who had married Juliana, one of Henry's natural daughters, thinking to take advantage of the king's diſtreſs, made exorbitant demands upon him for his ſervices; but meeting with a refuſal, took up arms againſt him, fortified four of his caſtles, and joined the enemy. A conſpiracy was formed againſt his perſon, by one of his favourites and ſome officers of his bedchamber; and tho' he had ſeized ſome that he ſuſpected, yet, when he imprudently ſet them at liberty, they had ſo little gratitude that they took up arms againſt him, as ſoon as they were out of his power.

The only troops he could truſt in his defence, were the Engliſh and Bretons; and the ſucceſſes of the war were ſo various, that he was almoſt tired of carrying it on.

Yet amidſt his troubles he had ſome tranſient glimmerings of ſucceſs, which kept his courage

courage from ſubſiding, and prevented him from abandonning himſelf to deſpair. Robert, ſon of Aſcelin Goel, returned to his allegiance; and his example being followed by ſeveral others, the king was encouraged to endeavour to draw over Amaury de Mountfort to his party, by promiſing him the quiet poſſeſſion of that place, and all the country round about it. Though Henry's offers were very advantageous, they were rejected by Montfort. The French having taken l'Aigle, the king endeavoured to recover that place, but had like to loſe his life in the attempt. The count of Anjou having inveſted Alençon, defeated Henry as he advanced to its relief, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral other ſtrong places in its neighbourhood.

The ravages which Baldwin, count of Flanders, had made in the county of Eu and the Pais de Caux, provoked Henry ſo highly that he ſent him a meſſage, wherein he threatened to lay waſte all his country as far as Bruges, if he did not deſiſt from his exceſſes. The count, not intimidated by the king's menaces, returned anſwer, "that he "would ſave him the trouble of ſo long a "march, and would ſoon do himſelf the "honour of paying him a viſit at Roüen." Being as good as his word, he advanced under the walls of the place, and challenged

ed Henry to battle; which he declined, and suffered him to demolish the walls of his deer-park, and plunder the suburbs, without giving him the least disturbance.

* The distresses with which Henry conflicted, were counter-ballanced by several incidents which terminated in his favour. Baldwin, who had proved himself so powerful an enemy, in besieging the city of Ew was wounded dangerously in the face by Hugh

* A. D. 1118. Matthew Paris gives us the history of founding the order of the knights templars of Jerusalem under this year, which we shall extract for the reader's amusement. "About this time, says our author, several noble knights formed themselves into a society, obliging themselves to celibacy, and to live after the manner of the regular canons. The founders of this order were Hugo de Pagan and Godfrey of Eadmer, who were so poor that they had but one buckler and one horse between them, in commemoration of which, the seal of the order has two knights mounted on one horse. As they had no dwelling place, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, assigned them an apartment in his own palace for their residence, and the canons of the temple granted them an area near the palace to erect their offices. The king himself, as well as the clergy, granted them a daily allowance for their table and cloathing. The knights at first undertook to clear the roads towards Jerusalem, from the banditti and robbers with which they were infested; and in a short time, the order was so respectable that it spread all over Europe, and was embraced by persons of the most distinguished birth and abilities."

Hugh Boterel, with his lance; and, having languiſhed for ſome time, died in Flanders. Enguerrand de Chaumont, who had taken the caſtle of Andely by ſurprize, and had penetrated as far as Roüen, died much about the ſame time. But what contributed moſt to the ſtrengthening Henry's intereſt, was the reconciliation of Fulk, count of Anjou, whoſe younger daughter was married to William, the king's ſon. Thus, freed from diverſions, Henry was at leiſure to revenge himſelf upon his enemies, by ravaging the country and taking Evreux, which he reduced to aſhes. Having united his forces, he marched to the relief of Nayon, a caſtle three leagues from Andely, which Louis had formed a deſign of carrying by ſurprize. The king's expedition was ſo great, that the enemy had ſcarce time to form their army into two diviſions. William, the ſon of duke Robert, was ordered to advance with a conſiderable detachment, in order to ſuſtain the ſhock of the enemy, whilſt the French king advanced in perſon with the main body of the army, which was not as yet reduced to order. Henry's army was drawn up in three diviſions, the chief nobility being poſted in the *avant-guard*; the ſecond diviſion, conſiſting of his life-guards, was led on by himſelf; and the third, conſiſting of infantry, was commanded by his

illegitimate ſons. William ſuſtained the ſhock of the Norman nobility with ſo much intrepidity, that he not only broke their van, but, improving his advantage, pierced the main body commanded by the king in perſon, and put them into diſorder. The king however rallied them, and the battle was fought with incredible obſtinacy, ſword in hand. On this occaſion Henry was in great danger, and was obliged to exert all his courage to preſerve his life. William Criſpin ſtruck him twice on the head with his ſabre, and though unable to cut through his helmet, beat it in with ſo much violence that the blood iſſued from the aperture. The king was at firſt ſtaggered with the blows of his antagoniſt; but, recovering himſelf, attacked Criſpin with ſo much violence that he brought him to the ground, and took him priſoner. The rear of the Engliſh, which had remained inactive, charging the French with their ſpears, ſoon put them to flight. The precipitation with which the French fled, was ſo great that their king was dragged along by the runaways, unhorſed in the preſs, and forced to truſt himſelf to a ſtrange peaſant, in order to make his eſcape on foot, through byeways to Andely.

Henry kept the field till ſeveral French noblemen were brought in as priſoners, after which

which he returned to Roüen, to order Te Deum for his victory, and to have the contuſion healed which he had received in his head. Louis's ſtandard and horſe, William's palfrey, and ſeveral priſoners, were taken on this occaſion; all which were reſtored, excepting the ſtandard.

As the flight of the French was ſo rapid that the Engliſh could not come up with them in their purſuit, their loſs was very inconſiderable, and Henry's victory far from being deciſive. On this account Louis was ſoon in a condition to offer him battle a ſecond time. Had his loſs been more conſiderable, the methods he took would have ſoon furniſhed him with a ſufficient number of recruits: for as ſoon as he had returned to Paris, by the advice of Amaury de Montfort, he ſent orders to all the biſhops and parochial clergy, enjoining them to force all their pariſhioners that were able to bear arms, to join him under pain of excommunication. The king having received a conſiderable reinforcement by this expedient, penetrated into Normandy, and ravaged all the country in his march. He laid ſiege to Breteuil, in the center of Normandy, which was defended by Ralph de Guaire, a perſon of ſignal valour and intrepidity. This brave governour, not content with attacking the aſſailants in a ſally, in a bra-

vado, ordered all the gates to be ſet open, which were defended with ſo much bravery that the beſiegers were unable to force their paſſage.

Henry receiving intelligence that the enemy had penetrated into Normandy, ſent a detachment of two hundred men, under the command of his ſon Richard, as a reinforcement to Ralph de Guaire. The news of this reinforcement reaching the French camp, diſpirited the aſſailants at the ſame time as it animated the brave governour, who went from gate to gate encouraging his men, and often changed his armour to prevent his being known by the enemy.

Henry following with a numerous army to ſupport his ſon, and to force the enemy to raiſe the ſiege; the French, deſpairing to take the town, retired with the greateſt precipitation on hearing of the king's march. William de Chaumont, Louis's ſon-in-law, willing to retrieve his character, aſſaulted the caſtle of Tilliers in his retreat, but was taken priſoner in a ſally made by the garriſon. Though Henry was victorious in theſe parts, yet his ſucceſſes were counter-ballanced by the loſs of Chartres and Ivry, which were taken by the king of France.

Pope Calixtus II, coming into France about this time, held a council at Reims, at which

which Louis and his barons attended, and lodged a complaint againſt Henry, "for "having taken up arms againſt him, "though his vaſſal; for having ſeized on "Normandy without his conſent, though "a fief of his kingdom; for having taken "his brother Robert priſoner, and detain-"ing him in confinement, contrary to "every principle of juſtice and humanity; "and for having incited Theobald, a vaſ-"ſal of France, to an open rebellion a-"gainſt him." In order to give his remonſtrances a greater weight, and work more powerfully upon the audience, Louis produced William, duke Robert's ſon, at the ſame time as he inveighed againſt the cruelty of Henry for depriving him of his birth-right. The French prelates then preſent, corroborated every article of Louis's remonſtrance, and prejudiced the audience ſo much in his favour, that, when the archbiſhop of Roüen roſe in order to make a reply, the council refuſed to hear him, and was diſſolved in great confuſion.

Not long after this the pope waited on Henry at Giſors in order to mediate a peace between the two crowns. At firſt his holineſs behaved in an authoritative manner, telling Henry, "that by the law of GOD "every man ought to enjoy his own right, "and that it was his deſire and that of the

" whole council that he ſhould ſet his " brother Robert at liberty, and reſtore him " and his ſon to the duchy of Normandy." The king, who was reckoned a great orator in thoſe days, returned anſwer; " that " he did not ſtrip his brother of his duchy, " but only ſecured his patrimony from be- " ing ſquandered away upon a ſet of diſſo- " lute fellows. That he had come to Nor- " mandy by the invitation of the biſhops " to prevent the ruin which threatened the " church; that he had taken that ſtep with " great reluctance, and had not engaged " in his expedition, 'till he had been teaz- " ed into it by the entreaties of the Nor- " man clergy and nobility, who perſwaded " him, that it was the only expedient " that could prevent the utter deſtruction " of their country." Theſe arguments, being backed by ſeveral rich preſents and a large ſum of money, convinced his holineſs of the equity of Henry's proceedings, and a peace was the next year procured by his mediation.

* Both parties being heartily tired of the war, were brought to ſuch terms as rendered an accommodation eaſy. According to this treaty the conceſſions were mutual, the places taken on both ſides were to be reſtored, the priſoners releaſed without ranſom; and Henry

* A. D. 1120.

Henry thinking it beneath his dignity to do homage in perſon to the king of France for the duchy of Normandy, the affair was compromiſed, his ſon William was allowed to do it in his ſtead, and received the inveſtiture of it from Louis's own hands.

Henry having now been abſent five years in Normandy, and made the nobility of that duchy ſwear fealty to his ſon, embarked at Barfleur with a great retinue in his return to England. Thomas Fitz Stephen, who had carried William the conquerour into England in his expedition againſt Harold, had fitted out a new ſhip in hopes of having the ſame honour done him by Henry: but the king ordered it for his ſon's uſe, who being univerſally beloved by the nation, was accompanied by a great number of the nobility. When the prince embarked the weather was fine and the wind fair; the ſailors were treated by him on board with the greateſt generoſity, and indulged with * ſo much wine, that they were incapable of performing their duties. Thus intoxicated with liquour, and elevated with joy, the prince propoſed to give them a reward if they would outſail the veſſel in which his father then was. In order to oblige

* The ſailors waited on the prince when he came on board, and aſking for ſome wine to drink his health, had three hogſheads given them.

oblige the prince, Fitz Stephen undertook to land him in England before his father, but in the attempt kept too near the ſhore, and ran upon a ſhoal of rocks, called Catte-raze, which are viſible only at low water, and could not then be perceived becauſe it was dark. The prince, with a few attendants got into the long boat, and in all probability might have been ſaved, if he had not heard the cries of * Mathilda, his baſe ſiſter, and put back again in order to take her in. As ſoon as he came to the wreck with this fraternal intention, ſuch a number of perſons crowded into the boat that it ſunk immediately. Near three † hundred

* She was counteſs of Perche.

† This computation is according to Ordericus Vitalis and Simeon of Durham. Dr. Campbell computes them at no more than two hundred perſons in all, and adds that we may from hence gueſs the bulk and burthen of the ſhips in thoſe days. Carte and Smollet are of the authour's opinion. The number of the nobility which periſhed on this occaſion is unanimouſly agreed on by all writers, and is the ſame in the annals of Margan and Waverly, in the chronic. of Thomas Wikes, and in that of Hemingford; as the laſt hiſtorian is more explicit than any others in this article, we ſhall produce his own words in order to authenticate our own narrative. "Rex Henricus "omnibus ad votum paratis, jam lætus, unus lætior "ſolito effectus, expleto jam quinto profectionis ſuæ "anno, iterum in Angliam multo navigio revehitur, "et quia filii ſui curam diligenter agebat, aſſigna-"vi rei navem, qua nulla videbatur melior, ſed, ut "eventus

dred perſons were involved in this calamity, among which were, Richard, one of the king's natural ſons, Richard, earl Cheſter, and his brother Ottul, Geoffry Riddel, William Bigot, upwards of one and forty young noblemen of the firſt quality, and ſome of the officers of the houſhold. The only perſon who was ſaved, was one Bertand, a butcher of Rouen, who clung faſt to the maſt, and was taken up the next morning by ſome fiſhermen. Geoffrey, the ſon of Gilbert l'Aigle had ſeized upon the ſame maſt, but being weak on account of his age, and benumbed with the cold, quitted his hold before morning, and was drowned. Thomas Fitz Stephens, the maſter of the veſſel, was rendered ſo ſober by his fright, that he ſwam towards the maſt, aſked thoſe, whom he ſaw climbing upon it, what was become of the prince, but being told that he was drowned, he replied, "that he would not ſurvive him," and ſunk

"eventus oſtendit, nulla infelicior. Patre enim præ-
"eunte paulo tardius et infelicius ſequebatur filius.
"Nave etenim non longe a terra poſita, cum in ipſo
"noctis initio portum Angliæ apprehendere conaren-
"tur, mox in ipſo velificationis impetu ſuper ſcopulas
"terræ deleta eſt et omnis diſſoluta, periitque filius
"regis, et omnes qui inerant cum eo apud Barbaſiech
"VI Kalend. Decemb. Feria quinta, cum eſſet anno-
"rum xviii, Perieruntque cum eo milites CXL & L,
"nautæ, cum gubernatoribus ſuis et filia Regis."
Hemingford, cap. XLIV. Gale's Edit.

ſunk immediately. The ſhrieks of the perſons on board were heard by thoſe on ſhore and in the king's ſhip, but as it was dark, they were ignorant of their diſtreſs, and on that account made no attempt to ſend them relief.

The news of this dreadful calamity did not reach the king till three days after it had happened, and when he heard it, it affected him ſo much that he fainted away, and though he did all he could to diſſemble his grief, yet it is remarked that he was never ſeen to ſmile afterwards.

If the character of this youg prince be conſidered, his loſs could not have occaſioned any grounds of ſorrow to the Engliſh; whom he frequently threatened with the moſt * abject ſlavery, in caſe he ſurvived his father. The calamity which likewiſe befel his attendants might receive ſome alleviation, when it is recollected that they were † profligately lewd and abandoned to vices,

* His common expreſſion was "that if he came "to the crown he would make them draw the plough "like oxen."

† Matt. Paris repreſents this diſaſter as a judgment on this prince's court, for the immoral lives of the nobility; but his own words expreſs his meaning plainer than the authour himſelf chuſes, "Filii ejus "Willielmus et Richardus, ac filia ejus ac neptis, "Richardus quoque conſul Ceſtrenſis, dapiferi came-"rarii, pincernæ regis, ac multi proceres cum eis "in mare naufragium pertulerunt, ſeptimo Kalendas "Decembris

vices, which would ſhock a chaſte mind to find recorded.

As the care Henry had been at in ſettling the ſucceſſion, was by this cataſtrophe rendered abortive, and the pretenſions of duke Robert's ſon were now revived, this prince's fate might be looked upon as a loſs to the nation. One advantage accrued to himſelf from this calamity, which he improved to the beſt of his power; the eſtates of thoſe who were caſt away being in a manner at his diſpoſal, he took care to marry the widows and ſiſters of the deceaſed to ſuch perſons as were ſtrongly attached to his intereſts, and, on account of their military ſkill were able to defend them. Yet as he knew the Engliſh and Normans were averſe to a foreign government, as his daughter Mathilda

" Decembris, qui omnes, vel ferè omnes, ſodomita-
" na labe impliciti dicebantur. Ita igitur miſerabile-
" ter cuncti perierunt, quod communi ſepultura car-
" ruerunt atque mors improvida immundos abſorbuit,
" mari tranquillo exiſtente." *M. Paris*, p. 57.

The annals of Waverly ſay, that this calamity was aggravated both on account of the premature death of the ſufferers, and becauſe the bodies of very few were found afterwards. The words of the original are, " Mors iſta dupliciter fuit doloroſa amicis eorum,
" et quia ita ſubito perierunt, et quia corpora pauco-
" rum reperiantur." The earl of Cheſter's corpſe was the only one which was found after the wreck, and that was driven a-ſhore at a great diſtance from the place where the veſſel was loſt.

Mathilda was married to a diſtant prince, as he knew that the want of a ſucceſſour would expoſe his dominions to miſery and ruin, he thought to prevent this evil by marriage, and eſpouſed Adeliza, the daughter of Godfrey, earl of Lorrain, but was diſappointed in his views, as he never had any child by her. The coronation of this queen was attended by a circumſtance, which rendered the archbiſhop of Canterbury very remarkable. It was the province of this prelate to ſet the crown on the king's head, not only at the ceremony of his coronation, but likewiſe at all other great feſtivals. Ralf obſerving, at the queen's coronation, that the king was ſeated on his throne with his crown on his head, though he himſelf had not put it on, he immediately went from the altar to his majeſty, and aſked him, "Who it was that "had put the crown upon his head?" The king being a little confuſed at * his queſtion, replied, "that as it was a matter of "indifference, he did not mind who put it "on." The king's anſwer not pleaſing the prelate, he told the king that "whoever put it on had no right to do it, and "that as long as it remained upon his "head, he ſhould refuſe to proceed in the "ceremony of the coronation." The king ſmiling

* A. D. 1121.

ſmiling at the archbiſhop's obſtinacy, ſuffered him to untie the ſtrings to take the crown from his head and to put it on again; after which the primate went on with the office of coronation.

The ill conſequences attending the ſhipwreck began now to exert themſelves in the inſurrection made by the Welch, who being encouraged by the death of the earl of Cheſter, burnt two caſtles, and laid the country under contribution. Henry, in order to repreſs their inſolence, raiſed a ſtrong army, and marched as far as Snowdon in Caernarvonſhire. But in endeavouring to ſecure a paſs fell into an ambuſh, and received a ſhot from the enemy on his breaſtplate, which ſo much alarmed him that he beat a parley, and made peace with Griffyth ap Conan the prince of the country, on the receipt of a thouſand head of cattle, and hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty.

When the king was returned from this expedition, he was waited on by Peter, a monk of Clugny, whom the pope had ſent over in the quality of his legate. Though the king received him with great civility, he informed him at his firſt interview, "that his authority as legate could not be "admitted, without the conſent of the "biſhops, abbots, and chief men in a ge-

" neral assembly of the whole kingdom; " and that he could by no means recede " from the ancient privileges granted by " the pope, especially from that wherein " his holiness had acknowledged *that Eng-* " *land was free, and not subject to any lega-* " *tine power.*" The legate perceiving by the king's manner of address, that he was determined to make no concessions, prudently forbore the exercise of his office, and, having received some rich presents from the king, took his leave.

Fulk, count of Anjou, returning about this time from Jerusalem, and finding that his daughter was left a widow by the loss of her husband prince William, sent an embassadour to Henry, desiring him to send her to him; which request was without any delay complied with. After this the king made a tour towards the north, and ordered Carlisle to be strengthened with new fortifications, after which * he returned to York, where he determined several differences between the citizens and their neighbours, and then returned to the southern parts of the island.

† On his return, Henry applied himself to fill up the vacant see of Canterbury, and after some altercation, one William de Curboil, a monk, prior of Chich or St. Osyth

* A. D. 1122. † A. D. 1123.

Oſyth in Eſſex, was confirmed by the king, not without ſome reluctance.

Not long after this election, the earl of Anjou demanded reſtitution of his daughter's fortune, but meeting with a denial, was ſo highly incenſed that he invited the elder ſon of duke Robert to his court, and promiſed him his daughter Sybille in marriage, together with the county of Maine, engaging to aſſiſt him in the recovery of Normandy. Encouraged by Fulk's aſſiſtance, William, count of Evreux, William de Romaure, Hugh de Montfort, Hugh de Neufchatel, William Louvel, Balderic de Bray, and Payen de Giſors, had a meeting at La Croix St. Leoffroy, to concert meaſures for the conqueſt of Normandy.

Henry being apprized of this conſpiracy, ſent over his natural ſon Robert, and the earl of Cheſter, in order to ſecure all the places of ſtrength in Normandy, intending afterwards to follow in perſon. The conſpirators finding that their plot was diſcovered, were forced into the field before their ſcheme was brought to maturity. Henry meeting with a fair wind, ſet ſail for the continent, and having received his army at Rouen, marched againſt Montfort, which he carried. The caſtle being too ſtrong he declined attacking it, and march-

ed for Pontaudemer, which he likewiſe took. The caſtle of this latter place being very ſtrong, held out a ſiege of ſeven weeks, and was at laſt carried by means of a wooden fort which the king ordered to be conſtructed for that purpoſe. Several other fortified places were obliged to ſurrender to Henry's arms, and the war was carried on by him with tolerable ſucceſs. William, his nephew, being ſupported by the French king, cauſed ſeveral diverſions by penetrating into Normandy, and made the king relinquiſh ſeveral projects, which would have tended to put an end to the war.

* The ſecond campaign was opened with an action that contributed to the putting Henry's affairs in a reſpectable poſture, and was followed with ſuch conſequences as blaſted the deſigns of his enemies. The counts of Meulant and Evreux, Hugh de Montfort, William Louvel, and Fitz Gervaſe paſſing with a ſmall eſcorte from Beaumont to Vatteville were ſet upon by William de Tancarville, the king's chamberlain, who had received intelligence of their motions, and being drawn into an ambuſh, were all taken priſoners, together with forty of their knights. The counts of Evreux and Covel made their eſcape by the favour of thoſe that had taken them priſoners,

* A. D. 1124.

priſoners, who choſe to accompany them in their flight.

The taking of the count of Meulant, Hugh de Montfort, and Fitz Gervaſe was followed by the reduction of the caſtles of Briorne, Vatteville and Beaumont. Beſides which, it cruſhed ſeveral inſurrections in embrio, induced the count of Evreux and William Louvel to conſent to an accommodation, and forced the count of Anjou to withdraw his protection from prince William, after he had firſt annulled his marriage contract, at the deſire of Henry. The young prince though deſerted by one friend met with no ſmall favour from the French king, who gave him his queen's ſiſter in marriage, with Pontoiſe, Chaumont, Mante, and all the Vexin François, ſupplied him with a body of troops to make the conqueſt of Normandy, and promiſed him further ſupplies.

During Henry's abſence England was in a very deplorable ſituation, the intolerable load of taxes laid upon the people to ſupport his war produced univerſal diſcontent, and impoveriſhed the induſtrious part of the kingdom. The price of grain was very dear on account of the ſcarcity of all ſorts of proviſion, and the coin was ſo exceſſively adulterated, that a pound weight of ſilver would not be taken for twelve pennyworth

of provisions. These calamities were aggravated by the severity of the king's justiciaries: who exercised every degree of tyranny, inhumanity and extortion. Ralph Basset, one of this order, made himself remarkably infamous for the execution of forty-four persons at once, some of which are reported to have been innocent. The corruption of the coin was an abuse which affected the king himself abroad. As the English money would not pass in those parts for more than its intrinsic value, the soldiers were reduced to great distress. The king thinking it high time to redress this inconvenience, which might have occasioned a mutiny in his army, at the same time as it wounded the credit of the nation, sent orders from Normandy that the coiners throughout England should be punished with the loss of their right hands, and castration. These orders, though very severe, were executed with great punctuality by Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who summoned all the coiners to attend him at Winchester, and without the formality of a trial inflicted the punishment upon them.

* Whilst Henry's affairs were in this critical situation both in England and on the continent, he received a visit from the cardinal

* A. D. 1125.

cardinal de Crema, who was commiſſioned by the new pope Honorius II. to go to England and Scotland in the quality of a legate *a latere*. The king was not then in ſuch circumſtances as rendered it prudent to give him a refuſal, and therefore conſented to his going to England. On his arrival he was received by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with all the honours due to his character. And, though no prelate, officiated at church in the archbiſhop's place, ſat in the higheſt ſeat, and wore the pontifical habit, to the great indignation of the ſpectators, who could not but grieve at this inſult on the liberties of the Engliſh church, whoſe primates had ever ſince the converſion of the nation, acted as patriarchs, and were always exempted from the juriſdiction of a popiſh legate.

The legate being commiſſioned to enquire into the diſſenſion between the archbiſhop of York and the Scotch prelates, who refuſed to acknowledge his primacy, went to Roxburgh, where he had a conference on that ſubject with David king of Scotland.

On his return he preſided at a general convocation of the prelates and clergy, convened by the archbiſhop of Canterbury at London; when, to ſhow his ſuperiority over the

the reſt of the aſſembly, he was ſeated on a throne, raiſed to an extraordinary height above the ſeats of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and all the temporal lords who attended the council. The moſt remarkable canon was levelled againſt the married clergy, and was introduced by the legate with a great profuſion of invective and reproach. Among other things, he aſſerted "that it was a ſin "of the moſt heinous kind, for a man to "conſecrate the euchariſt when he had juſt "aroſe from the bed of a *ſtrumpet*." For ſuch he deemed the wives of the clergy. But unfortunately for the character of this zealot, he was caught in bed with a woman of the town, the very next night after he had conſecrated the euchariſt in the morning, and was obliged to ſteal away * privately on the morrow, in order to avoid the ſhame of ſo infamous an action.

† Henry applied himſelf on the continent, in concerting ſuch meaſures as might eſtabliſh the tranquillity of his dominions in thoſe

* Huntingdon, who was both the ſon of a prieſt and a prieſt himſelf, after an apology for making free with the fathers of the church, gives us a minute detail of this tranſaction, and concludes, "that "it was too notorious to be denied, and ought not to "be concealed." As he was living at the very time when this crime was commited, we cannot doubt his information, his veracity, or honeſty.

† A. D. 1126.

thoſe parts. While he was thus engaged, his daughter Mathilda, having buried her huſband, joined him in Normandy; and, when his deſigns were complete, returned with him into England

At the ſame time the king brought over thoſe ſtate priſoners, which he had taken on the continent; among theſe were the earls of Meulant and Montfort, the former of which was committed to Walingford caſtle, and the latter to that of Windſor. Amaury de Montfort finding himſelf unable to withſtand the king, had made his peace with him.

Soon after his arrival, David king of Scotland paid him a viſit, and met with an honourable reception. By his advice, which was ſeconded by Maude the dowager empreſs, the king removed his brother Robert from the cuſtody of Roger * biſhop of Saliſbury, to that of earl Robert his natural ſon, who kept him in cloſe confinement, firſt at Briſtol and afterwards at Cardiff, as long as he lived.

The king now finding there was little probability of his having any iſſue by his queen, determined to provide for the ſucceſſion in ſuch a manner as might free the nation from any commotion, that might ariſe from ſo important a point. With this view he

* A. D. 1126.

he cauſed all the prelates and nobility who attended his court at Windſor, to take an oath "that, in caſe he ſhould die without "iſſue, they would * acknowledge his "daughter Maude, the empreſs, for their "queen." After all the great perſonages had taken this oath, the council was diſſolved; and the king retired, well pleaſed, to Woodſtock.

While Henry was indulging himſelf with the proſpect of the good conſequences that might flow from this precaution, he received advice that Charles the good, earl of Flanders, had been aſſaſſinated at church, by Bouchard de l'Iſle, at his devotions before the altar, and that the king of France had conferred his earldom on William, ſon of duke Robert, of which he was the undoubted heir, in right of his grandmother Maude, queen of England. In conſequence of this grant, the young prince reſtored Pontoiſe,

* The firſt perſon who took this oath, was William the archbiſhop of Canterbury, after which followed the biſhops, and then the abbots; the firſt lay perſon was David king of Scots, who was immediately followed by Stephen earl of Mortagne and Boulogne, Henry's nephew by his ſiſter Adeliza; there was a warm conteſt between this earl and Robert duke of Glouceſter, with regard to precedence, on this occaſion; the former claiming it on account of his being the king's natural ſon, and the latter becauſe he was his nephew lawfully begotten.

Pontoiſe, Chaumont, Mante, and all the country of Vex in François, to the French. This intelligence gave Henry no ſmall diſquiet, and occaſioned his calling a council, to conſider of the moſt proper meaſures to be taken in ſo critical a juncture. He could not but be apprehenſive of the acceſſion of power which was now flung into the ſcale of the young prince; and imagined that he might be encouraged, from the increaſe of his ſtrength, to make ſome attempt againſt his Norman dominions. Full of theſe fears, he ſent over his daughter Maud, together with Robert his natural ſon, and Brian ſon of count Alan Fergant, earl of Richmond, to put the duchy of Normandy in a poſture of defence.

The king followed theſe noble perſonages, and, thinking that it would be a means of ſtrengthening his intereſt, married his daughter to Geoffrey * Martel, ſon of Fulk count of Anjou, who was celebrated for his merit and courage. Fulk himſelf was preſent at the nuptials, and three weeks after their conſummation reſigned his territories to his ſon, after which he ſet out to receive the † crown of Jeruſalem.

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* Likewiſe named Plantagenet.

† It was become vacant by the death of Baldwin II,

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* This marriage, instead of strengthening Henry's interest, and securing the crown to his daughter, gave great umbrage to the English and Norman nobility; who † were offended that the heiress of the crown, should be given to a foreigner without their consent, or asking their advice.

As the discontent of the nobility was not unknown to Henry, he continued still in Normandy, in order to keep the malecontents quiet, and to guard against the attempts of his nephew, who was assisted by the whole power of the king of France. Henry, in order to revenge himself on the French king, resolved to carry on the war in such a manner as should procure a diversion to the young prince, and at the same time chastise the French for taking part in his quarrel. With this intention he marched, at the head of his army, as far as Esparne in France, where he encamped for eight days, without meeting any person to oppose him. The king of France, unable to prevent his incursions, was obliged to consent to a separate peace, and withdraw his

* Maude is said to have been very much averse to this match, and to have looked upon it as beneath her.

† The chagrin and resentment occasioned by this match, was so keen that many writers ascribe to it the facility with which Stephen made himself master of the crown.

his protection from the young prince. While he was thus employed in perſon, he ſent his emiſſaries into Flanders, and inflamed their reſentment ſo much againſt the young prince, on account of his tyrannical proceedings, that they ſet up Tierry the landgrave of Alſace againſt him. Several towns declaring in favour of the landgrave, William was obliged to endeavour to reduce his rebellious ſubjects, inſtead of carrying his arms into Normandy. He laid ſiege to Aloſt, which, making an obſtinate reſiſtance, gave Tierry time enough to march to its relief; but his forces being routed, the town was juſt going to ſurrender, had it not been prevented by an accident which happened to the young prince. In a ſalley one of the beſiegers having made a thruſt at him with a lance, he catched at it * with his right hand; but the point entered into the ball of his thumb, and the wound turning to a mortification, † he died within a few days afterwards.

* This young prince was endued with great perſonal valour; but in avoiding his father's vices, run into the contrary extreme, and was branded with the character of a miſer.

† This accident, which happened A. D. 1228, if we believe Ordericus Vitalis, was revealed to his father in his confinement, who dreamt that his ſon was wounded

The death of this young prince entirely removed Henry's fears, who was no longer diſturbed by any alarms from the French king; nor under any apprehenſions from the malecontents in Normandy. Tierry, who ſucceeded to the county of Flanders, was ſtrongly attached to his intereſt by the marriage of his daughter Sybille.

The king, convinced from experience that gratitude was the ſtrongeſt tie that could be offered to a noble mind, endeavoured by the moſt benevolent actions to attach his Norman ſubjects to his intereſts. With this view he gave Maude, the daughter of Richard de Redvers earl of Devon, in marriage to William de Raumara, and at the ſame time reſtored him all his eſtates in England; and ſending for Walleran count of Meulant, and Hugh Fitz-Gervaiſe, from their confinement in England, gave them their liberty; and, having received pledges for

wounded in his right arm with a lance, and that he loſt it immediately. In the morning the duke was ſo much affected with his dream, that he could not help telling his attendants his ſon was dead; which at firſt ſurprized them, but at laſt they found it to be true. The legitimate iſſue of Robert Curthoſe was entirely extinct in this prince; his illegitimate offſpring, not leſs fortunate than the legitimate, were taken off by violent deaths; Richard, the eldeſt, being killed as he was hunting in the *New Foreſt*; and William dying in the field, in one of the croiſades.

for their good behaviour, put them in poſſeſſion of all their lands in Normandy. Henry having thus ſettled his affairs abroad, returned into England, attended by Walleran, who was ſo much affected with his generous treatment, that from an implacable enemy he became a faithful friend, and forever after promoted his intereſt to the utmoſt of his power.

The king, preſerving the ſame generous diſpoſition to his Engliſh ſubjects as he had juſt ſhown to the Normans, on his arrival made ſuch an alteration in the revenue of his demeſne lands, as endeared himſelf to the kingdom. The tenants of theſe lands had been accuſtomed to pay their rents in kind, for the proviſion of the king's houſhold: but being impoveriſhed by taxes, and ſeveral years of ſcarcity, they found themſelves unable to ſupply the houſhold with that proportion of neceſſaries which was required of them. On this account they took all opportunities of informing the king of their neceſſities, preſenting him their ploughſhares as uſeleſs inſtruments, and repreſenting their hardſhips in ſuch terms as moved the king to take their caſe into conſideration. In order to remedy this grievance, the king ordered commiſſioners to go through the counties, and make an eſtimate of the proviſions each was to furniſh;

niſh; the value of which was, for the future, to be paid in money by the tenant. This expedient leſſening the price of proviſions, the rents fell, the money of the kingdom increaſed, and the ſubjects were not only relieved, but likewiſe enriched.*

The king likewiſe concerning himſelf with eccleſiaſtical affairs, ſtrongly enforced the celibacy of the clergy, appointing a limited day, before which they were to be obliged to divorce their wives, on pain of being deprived of their offices and livings. But as the archbiſhop was a perſon of remarkable lenity, and the married clergy made offers of conſiderable ſums to commute with the obſervance of this law, the king accepted of their money, and connived at their keeping their wives.

† Though Henry's dominions abroad enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, and this nation was likewiſe bleſſed with an uninterrupted peace, Henry paid a viſit to Normandy, in order to recognize pope Innocent II, tho' his competitor was then maſter of Rome, and had forced him to take ſhelter in France.

After

* As the hiſtory of this year was very barren of tranſactions, Malmeſbury has inſerted a long account of the corruptions introduced into the kingdom, with reſpect to dreſs and the effeminacy of wearing long hair, &c.

† A. D. 1130.

* After this act of ſpiritual obedience, Henry returned again to England, bringing with him his daughter Maude, who was parted from her huſband on account of ſome domeſtic quarrel. As ſoon as he arrived, he convened a great council of the prelates and nobility at Northampton, where he renewed their oath of fealty, and got them to ſwear to ſupport her in her ſucceſſion to the crown. As the king himſelf was now ſixty years of age, his conſtitution being worn out by the fatigues of war and the irregularities of youth, a ſtep of this nature ſeemed highly politic, and the only way of ſecuring the tranquillity of the nation from the enterprizes of ambition. Maude's huſband, Geoffry, ſurnamed Plantagenet from his wearing a *ſprig of broom* in his cap, had expected to have been put in immediate poſſeſſion of Normandy; but being refuſed by the king, demanded his wife, who was ſent to him by the advice of the council, and about a year after her return was brought to bed of a prince, who was named Henry, and afterwards ſucceeded to the crown of this kingdom †.

* A. D. 1131.

† This year was memorable for the death of Philip king of France, who loſt his life by the ſtumbling of his horſe, occaſioned by a hog's running between its legs. In the year 1132 London was entirely conſumed by fire.

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The joy which this circumſtance gave the king, was viſible to the whole nation, and occaſioned his ſummoning his nobility to meet him, and take a new oath to his daughter Maude, in which the right of the young prince, to the ſucceſſion, was included.

* Impatient to ſee his grandſon, Henry reſolved once more to make a voyage to the continent, and went on board his fleet during a total eclipſe of the ſun.

The next year after his departure, his brother † Robert was freed from his ſufferings by death; and his daughter being delivered of a ſecond ſon, his paternal fondneſs grew ſo much upon him that he loſt all inclination for viſiting his Engliſh dominions. ‡ But the Welch, under the command of Cadwallader and Owen Gwyneth, having committed ſeveral exceſſes in Cardiganſhire, he made three attempts to paſs over into England, but was prevented by contrary winds, and the intrigues of his ſon-in-law, from putting his deſign into execution. The remainder of his life, though not free from the diſquiets occaſioned by petty factions, was paſſed with a tolerable degree of tranquillity, and enlivened by the delight which he took in hunting. One day, after following

* A. D. 1133. † A. D. 1134. ‡ A. D. 1135.

ing his favourite diverſion, he ſurfeited himſelf with eating * lampreys, and was ſeized with a fever which put an end to his life.

As he found his diſorder increaſing, and had no hopes of a recovery, he ſent for Hugh archbiſhop of Roüen; and, being attended likewiſe by Robert duke of Glouceſter his natural ſon, the earls of Surrey and Leiceſter, the counts of Mortagne and Meulant, beſides ſeveral other noblemen, he declared his daughter Maude and her iſſue, to be his heirs by lawful and perpetual ſucceſſion, without mentioning her huſband, who had irritated him by ſeveral affronts. He then ordered that his debts, and all his ſervants wages, ſhould be paid; that all forfeitures ſhould be remitted, all exiles ſhould be reſtored to their country, and thoſe who had been deprived of their eſtates ſhould be put in quiet poſſeſſion of them. He bequeathed ſixty thouſand pounds to his ſervants and guards, which he ordered his ſon Robert to pay out of his treaſury at Falaiſe; and having ordered his remains to be interred at † Reading, died at midnight.

* From the manuſcript annals of the abbey of Crokeſden, in the Cottonian collection at the Britiſh Muſeum.

† In the abbey he had founded. It is remarkable that we have no account of any monument erected to his memory. On the ſuppreſſion of abbeys, his bones are

night. His corpse was the next day removed to Roüen, attended by twenty thousand people, and carried on the shoulders of noblemen alternately. His bowels were there taken out, and buried in the priory of Notre Dame du Pré; and his corpse, being embalmed in the * rude manner of those days, was carried to Caen, in order to be transported into England.

Henry was of middle stature, but rather taller than his brothers; his hair was of dark brown, or black, and thick upon his forehead; his eyes were blue, remarkably bright, and sweet; his chest was broad and muscular, and his make indicated great robustness and strength. He had great natural parts, improved by study and cultivated with

are reported to have been thrown out to make room for a stable of horses. The monastery is now turned into a dwelling-house. *Sandford.*

* This was performed by cutting great gashes in the flesh with knives; afterwards the corpse was salted, and then wrapped up in ox-hides to avoid the stench, which was so infectious that the person who opened his head, died soon after. The sufferer was a physician; but the manner in which he opened the king's head, shows what little progress that science had made in the world, it being performed with a *hatchet!* As this circumstance may seem too ridiculous to receive credit, unless supported by authority, the reader will excuse our producing that of Matthew Paris. "Medicus, ille, qui magno pretio conductus est, caput "ejus *securi* diffiderat." *M. Paris*, p. 62.

with learning, which acquired him the ſurname of Beauclerc. The love he had for the ſciences in his youth, diſplayed itſelf throughout his life; particularly in the fondneſs he had for Oxford, where he built himſelf a palace, and often reſided to enjoy the converſation of the learned. He was affable, facetious, and good natured to his favourites; and, in the receſſes from public buſineſs, would behave to them with remarkable condeſcention. He had great foreſight and penetration, undertook with the greateſt caution, and acted with invincible intrepidity. Cool amidſt the horrours of war, he took the advantage of every ſlip in his antagoniſt; and conquered as much by the weakneſſes of his enemy, as by the ſuperiority of his own wiſdom. Though he was ſo violent in the field, he never undertook a war till obliged to it, or had weighed its conſequences, and taken his meaſures ſo as to ſecure ſucceſs. As he was unwilling to provoke, he was unable to forbear; and reſented injuries in ſuch a manner, as ſhowed him to be both implacable and cruel. Not but his hiſtory affords us a variety of inſtances, wherein he ſhowed the greateſt humanity to traitours, and pardon to ſuch as conſpired againſt his life. His behaviour to his brother Robert, may indeed at firſt ſight caſt a ſlur upon his character; but if we conſider

fider the valour of this unfortunate prince, and the indolence of his temper, which made him the prey of every powerful flatterer, his treatment may appear as neceſſary, in a political light; and his loſs of this kingdom and the duchy of Normandy, the means of reſcuing both from approaching ruin. Henry's character, as a ſtateſman, is certainly great; and if we view him in that of a legiſlatour, we ſhall find it no leſs eminent. To give a detail of the laws which he founded, would be too voluminous; and to mention only a few, would be too imperfect. His adminiſtration of juſtice, though accuſed of ſeverity, may be palliated on account of the univerſal depravity of the times, and the ill conſequences which flowed from them. He was very temperate in his diet, but at the ſame time a great debauchee with reſpect to his amours; leaving behind him ſuch a muſter roll of baſtards as is quite aſtoniſhing. He is indeed accuſed of being avaricious, on account of the grievous taxes he laid upon his ſubjects, which impoveriſhed the nation and expoſed it to all the calamities of military contribution. Yet if we recollect that they were requiſite to ſupport the extenſive wars on the continent, in which he was involved contrary to his own choice, they may be looked upon as neceſſary evils. Though religious, he was no bigot;

BRITISH MUSEUM

STEPHEN.

Engravid for Rider's History of England.

bigot; and behaved towards the pope and his legate, in ſuch a manner as was ſuitable to the dictates of reaſon, to the laws of the goſpel, and the dignity of his own character. But to ſum up the qualities of this prince in a few words; he was too fond of foreigners, too vindictive to his enemies, too much abandoned to amours, too ſenſible to be an enthuſiaſt, too cautious to be ſurprized, too valiant to be conquered, too good to deſerve the calumnies thrown on him by the monks, and too bad to be univerſally applauded.

STEPHEN. A. D. 1135.

IT is an old and a juſt obſervation, that no human foreſight or precaution can enſure undoubted ſucceſs. Never did prince take more prudent meaſures than Henry I. for ſecuring the crown in the poſſeſſion of his family; and never did meaſures prove more fruitleſs and abortive. He had obliged all his ſubjects, as well Engliſh as Norman, to take a proviſional oath of allegiance to his ſon William; and, upon the death of that prince, he exacted the ſame oath in favour of the empreſs Matilda his daughter, and of her young ſon Henry, whom ſhe had by her ſecond huſband Geoffry Plantagenet, count of Anjou.

Con-

Conscious however of the little regard which men are apt to pay to an oath, when either their interest or their inclination lead them to the violation of it, he resolved to secure the fidelity of his subjects by the additional ties of gratitude and love. With this view he endeavoured to conciliate the affections of some of his principal nobility by acts of generosity and kindness, hoping by this means to attach them more strongly to the cause of his daughter and his grandson.

Of all those whom he distinguished by these marks of liberality, the greatest and most considerable was his own nephew Stephen, third son to the earl of Blois by Adela, daughter of William the conquerour. Upon him he not only bestowed the large estate of the earl of Mortagne, who had been attainted; but, by effecting a match between him and Maude, daughter and heiress of Eustace, count de Boulogne, he put him in possession of that rich and extensive county. He likewise invited to his court, Stephen's youngest brother Henry, whom he immediately created abbot of Glastonbury, and soon after bishop of Winchester; so that the two brothers, in a short time, became the most powerful subjects in the kingdom.

In order to give the reader a more distinct and accurate view of the transactions of the following

following reign, and of the great revolution which happened in the order of ſucceſſion, it may not be amiſs to preſent him with a ſlight ſketch of the characters of ſome of the principal perſonages concerned in this political drama.

Matilda was a woman of a high ſpirit, and haughty diſpoſition: bred up, from her infancy, in the principles of arbitrary power, ſhe conſidered her ſubjects as born for her, and not herſelf as born for her ſubjects. She expected, and (when her expectations were not anſwered) ſhe demanded the moſt implicit obedience and abſolute ſubmiſſion. Her high quality as empreſs, which ſhe enjoyed in virtue of her marriage with her firſt huſband, Henry IV. emperour of Germany; her being in poſſeſſion of her father's Norman dominions, where ſhe ruled with unlimited ſway; her near relation to the Scottiſh king, who was her uncle, and who was ready to ſecond her in all her ambitious projects: theſe, and many other circumſtances, concurred to inflame her pride, which was naturally great, and to render her perſon and government diſagreeable to the Engliſh nation.

Stephen, earl of Boulogne, was a man of a graceful perſon and genteel addreſs. His courage was undaunted, his fortitude invincible, and his vigilance and activity were

equal to the moſt arduous undertakings. Having long lived at the Engliſh court, he had carefully ſtudied the conſtitution of the government, of which he either was, or pretended to be, a great admirer and a zealous defender. Intimately acquainted with the temper and genius of the people, he had found means to inſinuate himſelf into their good graces, and had acquired ſuch a ſtock of popularity, as no other nobleman in the iſland poſſeſſed.

Henry, biſhop of Wincheſter, was a bold, daring, and factious prelate; poſſeſſed of ſuch a volubility of tongue as made him paſs, with the ignorant multitude, for a man of great abilities; and endued with ſuch a verſality of genius, as enabled him to accomodate himſelf to every change of circumſtance, and juſtly entitled him to the character of a time-ſerver. His learning, which, for the time, was extenſive, and his frank and familiar addreſs, gave him great intereſt with the clergy, over whom he had nearly the ſame influence as his brother had over the laity.

William, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was a better ſcholar than a politician. Zealouſly attached to the ſee of Rome, from which he had received ſome conſiderable favours, he was ever ready to execute all its orders with the moſt blind and unreſerved ſubmiſſion.

Poſſeſſed

Poſſeſſed of a narrow capacity, and a ſtranger to the intrigues of ſtate, he was apt to be impoſed upon by cunning and deſigning men, and eaſily drawn into ſuch meaſures as beſt ſuited their ſelfiſh and intereſted views.

Roger, biſhop of Saliſbury, was one of the richeſt and moſt powerful ſubjects in the kingdom. He had been raiſed by Henry I. from the low rank of a pariſh prieſt in Normandy, to the ſee of Saliſbury, and afterwards to the office of chief juſticiary, in which poſt he had amaſſed ſuch an immenſe fortune, as enabled him to live with royal ſplendour. Though a man of little or no learning, he was endued by nature with ſuch a ſtrength of judgment, and ſuch a quickneſs of apprehenſion, as rendered him extremely proper for the management of public affairs; and, though a foreigner by birth, he ſeems by his conduct to have been warmly devoted to the intereſts and liberty of the Engliſh nation.

But of all the great men who then flouriſhed in England, Robert earl of Glouceſter, and natural ſon to Henry I. was by far the moſt eminent, whether we conſider him as a ſtateſman or a warriour. That unſpotted integrity which he had ever maintained, amidſt all the corruptions of his father's court; that conſtant and ſignal ſucceſs

which attended him in all his military enterprizes; his spirited and vigorous opposition, to every measure which he judged inconsistent with the public welfare; his learning, which was great, and his patronage to men of learning, which was noble and generous; all conspired to procure him the esteem of the sensible part of the nation, and to render him the darling of the people. He was warmly attached to the cause of his sister Maude; but more warmly still to the cause of his country; and whenever the one happened to interfere with the other, he never failed to give the preference to the latter.

Such were the most remarkable persons who then made a figure in the English court, and had a principal share in conducting the affairs of the nation.

Henry hoped that, by the profusion of favours he had heaped upon Stephen, he had firmly secured him in the interests of his daughter. But, while he fondly imagined he was laying the foundation of gratitude, he was sowing the seeds of ambition; while he thought he was enabling Stephen to support Maude in asserting her succession to the crown, he was at once enabling and tempting him to seize it for himself. These ambitious views Stephen began to entertain long before the death of Henry;

Henry; and that event no ſooner happened, than he reſolved to carry them into execution.

Accordingly, the breath was ſcarce out of Henry's body, when he poſted privately to Boulogne, from whence he ſet ſail for Dover. His firſt attempt was to ſeize that important fortreſs; but in this he was diſappointed. He then advanced to Canterbury, hoping to gain admittance into that city; but this was flatly refuſed him. Not diſcouraged however by theſe repulſes, he proceeded to London; where his brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, had engaged ſuch a ſtrong party in his favour, that he was received by the citizens with open arms. His firſt care, after his arrival, was to take poſſeſſion of the late king's treaſure, amounting to an hundred thouſand pounds *, beſides a large quantity of plate and jewels. By a proper diſtribution of this ſum, he drew over to his ſide many of the neceſſitous nobility, and conciliated the affections of the ſoldiers.

Immediately after this a great council of the ſtates was aſſembled, in order to examine and ſettle the ſucceſſion to the crown. The members reflected, that though the empreſs was the lawful heir of Henry I. and ſolemnly acknowleged as ſuch by the whole

* Equal to about a million of our money.

nation, ſhe was yet a woman of a capricious temper and imperious diſpoſition. She was married to a foreign prince in needy circumſtances, and of a character as exceptionable as her own. They did not know how far ſhe might be induced to reſign the exerciſe of government into the hands of her huſband, in which caſe they had reaſon to fear a renewal of all the calamities they had ſuffered under the three former reigns. Her father-in-law was the nominal king of Jeruſalem; and the intereſts of his family were ſo interwoven with thoſe of foreign princes, that England would be in danger of being involved in all their petty diſputes and quarrels, and drained of its blood and treaſures in ſupporting foreign allies.

On the * other hand Stephen, though a foreigner by birth, was an Engliſhman in his heart, and poſſeſſed of every virtue that could qualify him for filling the throne of a great and powerful kingdom. The martial ſpirit of the nation ſeemed to languiſh, and to

* Wikes aſſigns the ſex of the empreſs as the only cauſe which induced the Engliſh to favour Stephen; his words are, "Sane proceres, et pontifices regni, "quia Matildis imperatrix, quæ comiti Andegavenſi "Gaufrido nupſerat, nullam adhuc de corpore ſuo "prolem procreaverat, ut regni profectibus provide-"rent, ne regnum ſine *rege* periclitaretur, ipſum Ste-"phanum tanquam propinquiorem hæredem in regem "ſublimarunt." *Wikes's Chronic.*

to require the ſteady hand of a man, rather than the feeble hand of a woman, to wield the reins of government. But what chiefly contributed to fix their wavering opinions, was the precedent introduced by Henry himſelf, and his brother William, in uſurping the crown from the immediate heir of blood. In conſequence of this, the Engliſh thought they had a right, whenever the throne became vacant, to provide for their own ſafety, by electing for their ſovereign whomſoever they ſhould judge to be beſt qualified for that important ſtation.

The members of the council being deſired to give their opinion, the archbiſhop of Canterbury declared that the oath taken to Matilda was null and void, in as much as it was directly contrary to the cuſtoms of the Engliſh, who had never ſuffered a woman to reign over them. The biſhop of Saliſbury affirmed that they were freed from the obligation of their oath, by Matilda's being married to a foreign prince without the conſent of the barons, who had bound themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner, to acknowledge none as their ſovereign but a deſcendant of William the conquerour; adding, that it was more reaſonable that the whole nation ſhould chuſe a huſband for their queen, than that the queen ſhould chuſe a ſovereign for the whole nation.

In

* In fine, Hugh Bigod, the late king's ſteward, ſwore that Henry had, on his death-bed, diſinherited Matilda, and nominated Stephen his ſucceſſour.

On theſe conſiderations, ſome of which were weighty and others trivial, and which to different readers will appear in a different light, according to their political principles, they rejected the right of Matilda, and declared Stephen king of England; appointing, at the ſame time, a day for ſolemnizing his coronation. But when that day arrived, William archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was to perform the ceremony, began to diſcover ſome ſcruples of conſcience: theſe, however, were ſoon ſilenced by the other biſhops; and Stephen was accordingly crowned, though in a very thin aſſembly of the barons.

The Engliſh, in thus violating the order of ſucceſſion, were not guided by the motives of whim and caprice; they were influenced

* This circumſtance is very extraordinary, ſince the hiſtorians give us no hint of it in the hiſtory of the late king. Paris, to whom our modern hiſtorians are indebted for this circumſtance, is very ſtrong in his expreſſions, as may appear from the following words. "Hugo præterea Bigot, Henrici ſe-"neſcallus regis, præſtito juramento, probavit coram "archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi, quod, dum rex ageret "in extremis, imperatricem exhæredavit; et Stepha-"num igitur conſtituit ſucceſſorem." *Matthew Paris*, p. 62.

fluenced by a regard to the happineſs and welfare of the nation. During the three former reigns, they had laboured under many grievances, which they were now reſolved to redreſs; and Stephen, conſcious that he owed his elevation to the throne not to right of blood, but to the free choice of the people, readily agreed to comply with all their requeſts.

One of the greateſt hardſhips to which the clergy were expoſed, was the long time that biſhoprics were kept vacant: Stephen, therefore, beſides the uſual coronation oath, ſwore "that he would never keep a biſhopric vacant; but immediately, upon "the death of the biſhop, conſent to a "canonical election, and inveſt the elected "in the temporalities of the ſee."

The many trials about hunting in the royal foreſts, and other places, was a grievance that had prevailed ever ſince the conqueſt. No perſon's property was ſecure againſt the informations of the king's officers. If a gentleman was found hunting even in his own woods; if he cut them down, or grubbed them up, for his own private uſe, he was immediately repreſented as a waſter, and was obliged to compromiſe the matter by paying a large fine to the crown. Theſe unjuſt and troubleſome proſecutions, which fell chiefly upon the old Engliſh gentlemen, were

were fully provided againſt by another article of Stephen's oath, importing "that he "would not diſturb the clergy or laity in "the enjoyment of their own woods, as "his predeceſſours had done, nor ſue any "perſon for taking the diverſion of hunting "in the royal foreſts; but that he would "reſtore the foreſts taken in by the late "king, and retain none but ſuch as were "poſſeſſed by the two Williams." He likewiſe aboliſhed the tax of danegelt, which amounted to two ſhillings on every hide of land, and had been levied ever ſince the time of the conquerour. The firſt hiſtorians who wrote the tranſactions of this early period, inform us that he made ſeveral other conceſſions in favour of the people, but have not thought proper to mention the particulars.

In the beginning of the enſuing * year, the body of the late king was brought over from Normandy, and interred at Reading with great funeral pomp and ſolemnity, Stephen himſelf walking as chief mourner in the proceſſion.

Mean while, ſuch of the nobility as favoured Matilda's cauſe, finding it impoſſible to reſiſt the torrent of ſucceſs with which Stephen carried all before him, retired into Scotland, where they were hoſpitably entertained

* A. D. 1136.

tained by king David. That prince, mindful of the oath he had taken to the empreſs, reſolved to exert his utmoſt efforts in ſupporting her intereſts. With this view he raiſed a numerous army, with which he invaded England, and * reduced all the towns and fortreſſes in the north as far as Durham, obliging the inhabitants, at the ſame time, to ſwear allegiance to Maude, and to give hoſtages for their fidelity.

Stephen was no ſooner informed of theſe proceedings, than he aſſembled his forces, and advanced with ſuch expedition that he came up with the Scottiſh king in the neighbourhood of Durham, before the latter was appriſed of his march. David was no ſtranger to the military ſkill and proweſs of Stephen; and Stephen rather choſe to have David for a friend than an enemy. A treaty of peace was accordingly propoſed and concluded, on the following terms; that David ſhould retain Carliſle and Doncaſter, with all the lands belonging to them; and be inveſted with the earldom of Huntingdon. With

* Under pretence of a friendly viſit to Carliſle and Newcaſtle, he made himſelf maſter of both thoſe places. Stephen received the intelligence of his treachery, in a manner that diſcovered the greateſt indifference, ſaying on the occaſion, "that it was very "well; and what David had *treacherouſly* ſeized on, "he was reſolved *manfully* to recover." *Huntingdon.*

With regard to the county of Northumberland, which the prince of Scotland claimed, Stephen promiſed to refer it to the deciſion of his great council, in which ſome charges, brought by certain Engliſh noblemen, againſt the prince's title to that county, behoved to be diſcuſſed. In return for theſe conceſſions, David agreed to reſtore all the other places he had reduced; but as he had formerly taken an oath of allegiance to his niece Matilda, he did not think it conſiſtent with his character, either as king of Scotland or a peer of England, to take the ſame oath to any other perſon during her life; however, that the concluſion of the treaty might not be prevented by ſuch a punctilio, he ſuffered his ſon Henry to receive the inveſtiture of all his Engliſh eſtates, and to ſwear fealty to Stephen.

* Stephen now ſeemed to be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, that Robert earl of Glouceſter, either piqued at the haughty behaviour of his ſiſter, and the capricious temper of her huſband, or perhaps with a view

* About Eaſter it was generally reported that Stephen was dead; as ſoon as this rumour reached Hugh Bigot, he ſeized on the caſtle of Norwich, proteſting he would reſtore it to none but the king in perſon; which obliged Stephen, on his recovery, to go down to him to receive it from his hands.

view of saving his estates from confiscation, came over to England, and took the oath of allegiance to Stephen; but with this express proviso, that it should be no longer binding than the king continued to rule according to the promises he had made.

* The example of this nobleman, who was considered as the soul of Matilda's party, had such an influence on all the other barons, that they readily took an oath of allegiance to Stephen, but clogged with the same reservation; and the king having, at last, obtained a confirmation of his title from the pope, the prelates, who had hitherto kept aloof, now swore fealty to him as long as he should maintain the liberties of the church, and preserve the vigour of her discipline.

Stephen not only agreed to these conditions, but, in order to shew his inclination to observe them, he convoked an assembly

* He was apprehensive of the fickleness of Stephen's temper, and thought this clause necessary to secure himself from any danger which might arise from thence. That this was the purport of Robert's proviso, appears from Paris's relation of this circumstance. "Comes Robertus sibi homagium fecit sub conditione, "scilicet, si dignitatem suam sibi servaret illibatam, "secundum illud antiquum proverbium: Quamdiu habebis me pro senatore et ego te pro imperatore." *Matth. Paris*, p. 62.

of the ſtates at Oxford, where he renewed his coronation oath, at the ſame time confirming it by the following charter.

" * I Stephen, by the grace of God, " and by the aſſent of the clergy and peo- " ple, elected king of England, and con- " ſecrated by the lord William, archbiſhop " of Canterbury, and legate of the holy " Roman church; and being alſo confirm- " ed by Innocent, biſhop of the holy Ro- " man ſee; do hereby grant, for the re- " ſpect and love of God, that holy church " be free; and I do yield all reverence " due to it. I promiſe to act nothing in " the church ſimoniacally; nor will per- " mit it to be done. I alſo grant and " confirm the right and power of eccleſi- " aſtical perſons and clerks, over their " eſtates; and that the diſtribution of the " goods of all eccleſiaſtics, ſhall be in the " hands of the biſhops. I alſo grant and " ordain, that the dignities of churches, " confirmed by their privileges and their " cuſtoms, held by ancient rights, ſhall re- " main inviolable; as alſo, that all poſſeſ- " ſions and tenures of churches, which " they held the day that king William my " grandfather was alive and dead, ſhall be " free and abſolute to them, without any " recovery of thoſe that may claim them.

" But

* From William of Malmeſbury.

" But if the church shall hereafter chal-
" lenge any of those things that were pos-
" sessed or enjoyed before the king's death,
" and which it may now want, I reserve
" that to my indulgence and liberality, ei-
" ther to be farther discussed or restored;
" but whatsoever hath been bestowed upon
" it since the king's death, either by the
" liberality and gifts of great men, or by
" the oblation, purchase, or any exchange
" of faithful Christians, I confirm; and
" further promise, that I will keep and
" preserve peace and justice, in all things,
" to the utmost of my power. The forests,
" which king William my grandfather, and
" William my uncle, have made and held,
" I reserve to myself; but all the rest,
" which king Henry superadded, I restore
" and grant, quit and discharge, to the
" churches and kingdom. If any bishop,
" abbot, or other ecclesiastical person, shall
" reasonably distribute his goods before his
" death, or shall appoint them to be so di-
" stributed, I grant that it shall remain
" firm; but if he were prevented by death,
" distribution shall be made of them by the
" consent of his church, for the good of
" his soul. While episcopal sees shall re-
" main vacant of pastors, both they and all
" their possessions shall be committed to the
" power and keeping of clerks, or other

" honeſt men of the ſame church, until a
" paſtor can be canonically inſtituted. All
" exactions, miſcarriages, and injuſtice,
" wickedly introduced, either by ſheriffs
" or any others, I totally aboliſh. The
" good and ancient laws, and juſt cuſtoms,
" in murders, pleas, and other cauſes, I
" will obſerve, and do hereby command
" and ordain to be obſerved. Given at
" Oxford in the year of the incarnation of
" our Lord eleven hundred and thirty-ſix,
" and in the firſt year of my reign."

This charter we have thought proper to tranſcribe at full length, that the reader may be the better able to judge how far Stephen obſerved or broke it in the ſequel.

Though the free choice of the people be the moſt honourable title by which a ſovereign can hold his crown, yet it is ſometimes attended with many inconveniences; eſpecially if it renders him ſo dependant on his ſubjects, that he is obliged to comply with all their requeſts, even with ſuch as are directly contrary to the intereſt of the public. Stephen, it is true, was not elected by the unanimous conſent of the nation, but rather by a cabal of the nobility and clergy; but that circumſtance, inſtead of leſſening, rather tended to encreaſe his dependance. He knew that thoſe who had

raiſed

raiſed him to the throne, could with the ſame eaſe tumble him down from that exalted ſtation; and therefore, in order to preſerve himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the crown, which he held by ſuch a precarious tenure, he found it neceſſary to yield to all their demands, however unjuſt and unreaſonable. To this motive it is that we muſt aſcribe the impolitic ſtep he took, in permitting the nobility to fortify their houſes and caſtles.

It had been an ancient cuſtom in England, for ſome of the principal noblemen to have one or more caſtles on their eſtates. The original intention of theſe fortreſſes ſeems to have been, to defend the country againſt the incurſions of the Scots, and the invaſion of the Danes, Saxons, Normans, and other adventurous free-booters. When, after the conqueſt, theſe precautions were rendered unneceſſary, except in the northern counties, the caſtles were ſtill ſuffered to remain. But inſtead of being, as they had formerly been, places of ſtrength for the ſecurity of the nation, they were now converted into receptacles of tyranny and rebellion. A nobleman, who either was, or conceived himſelf to be, affronted by the court, retired to his caſtle, where he ſhut himſelf up, renounced his allegiance to the crown, and ruled with deſpotic ſway among

all his dependants, in open defiance to the laws of the land, and to the power of the sovereign; nor could he, frequently, be reduced to obedience without a considerable expence of blood and treasure, or even sometimes endangering the constitution. In consequence of Stephen's permission, the old castles were not only repaired and fortified, but such an immense number of new ones were built, that, in a short time, there were no less than fifteen hundred fortresses in different parts of the kingdom.

It was not long before Stephen had cause to repent of his ill-timed indulgence. Baldwin, earl of Redvers, having met with a repulse in some slight favour he had asked of the king, was so highly incensed that he withdrew from court, and, fortifying his castle of Exeter, openly renounced his obedience. Stephen, than whom no man was ever better qualified to provide against any sudden emergency, immediately assembled his troops, and investing the castle of Exeter, obliged the garrison to surrender after a * tedious siege. The earl escaped to the Isle of Wight, of which he was likewise governour; but the king pursuing him with incredible rapidity, compelled him to fly to Normandy,

* It held out three months, and surrendered at last only for want of water; the well with which the garrison was supplied, being dried up.

Normandy, and confiſcated all his eſtates in England.

The fate of this nobleman was not ſufficient to intimidate the other diſcontented barons: for ſoon after, Robert de Bathenton, a nobleman of conſiderable influence, revolted; and, fortifying his caſtle, reſolved to hold it to the laſt extremity. Stephen was no ſooner informed of this freſh revolt, than he advanced againſt the traitour in perſon; and ſeizing him as he was endeavouring to make his eſcape over the wall by a rope, he cauſed him to be hanged up in ſight of the garriſon, who, ſtruck with terrour by the execution of their maſter, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Theſe inſtances of juſt ſeverity ſeem to have over-awed the factious ſpirits of the nobility, and to have kept them for ſome time in tolerable order.

Stephen's arms were not ſo ſucceſsful in repelling the incurſions of the Welch, who had invaded Cardiganſhire, and ſome of the neighbouring counties. In an engagement which happened near Cardigan, the Engliſh loſt about three thouſand men in the field of battle, beſides a great number who were drowned in the river Temd. A peace, however, was ſoon after concluded, and the Welch remained quiet in their own territories.

About

About this time the see of Canterbury having become vacant, Stephen was so imprudent as to seize the rents of that church, together with the effects of the late incumbent, who had died intestate. This step was so contrary to the solemn oaths he had taken, and the repeated promises he had made, of leaving the church in the full enjoyment of all her immunities, that it excited great clamours in the nation, and provoked the earl of Gloucester to renounce his allegiance, and to declare in favour of Matilda, to whose court he forthwith repaired, in order to carry his designs into execution.

As Normandy had, ever since the time of William the conqueror, been considered as an appendage of the English crown, Stephen resolved to assert his right to that duchy. With this view he went over to the continent, in the beginning of the * following year, attended by several of the English nobility.

The Normans, upon the death of Henry I. were at a loss what course to pursue, or whom to acknowledge as their sovereign. Matilda was a woman of such an imperious disposition, and lived upon such bad terms with her husband, that they had no prospect of enjoying any happiness under her govern-

* A. D. 1137.

government. Stephen, though king of England, had an elder brother, Theobald, earl of Blois, and, if priority of birth was to be regarded, the preference, they thought, was due to the latter. To Theobald, therefore, they made a tender of their duchy, and he prepared to avail himſelf of an offer, which he had ſo little reaſon to expect.

But though the Normans acted as if they had a right to diſpoſe of their duchy to whomever they pleaſed, and to appoint a ſovereign of their own chuſing, * Geoffry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, and huſband to the empreſs Matilda, was of a very different opinion. He thought that no blemiſhes in his wife's character could deprive her of her right, nor abſolve the Normans from that allegiance which they owed to the heir of the firſt Henry; and as he judged her title to be good, ſo he reſolved to ſupport it by force of arms.

Accordingly he invaded Normandy with a numerous army, and, notwithſtanding the oppo-

* As ſoon as he heard of Henry's death, he ſent Maude into Normandy, where ſhe was joyfully received by one Guiganalyas, a perſon of mean birth, but of great intereſt, who acknowledged her as his lawful miſtreſs, and having commanded in thoſe parts during the late reign, reduced Argentune, Damfront, and ſeveral other ſtrong places. After this prelude to his deſigns, the count himſelf took the field in order to proſecute his wife's right, and to ſupport her pretenſions.

oppoſition he met with from the natives, reduced ſeveral places to obedience. Theobald, finding himſelf unable to cope with ſuch a powerful antagoniſt in the field, retired to the court of the French king, who encouraged him to renew his pretenſions, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with a ſtrong body of forces.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Normandy *, when Stephen appeared as a third competitor for the ducal dignity, and by his preſence produced an univerſal change in the ſentiments of the people, and the deliberations of the barons †. The circumſtance of his being king of England dazzled the eyes of the populace, who fondly imagined that the ſplendour of the Engliſh crown would reflect on additional luſtre on their duchy, and ſuch of the barons as were poſſeſſed of eſtates in England, were deſirous of preſerving their property in that country, which they could not expect to do, if they either ſided with Geoffry, or ‡ Theobald, in

* A. D. 1157.

† According to Orderieus Vitalis he was received into Seez; but whilſt his men were employed in ravaging the country and plundering the churches, the Normans roſe, killed ſeven hundred of his men, and put the reſt to flight. After this an inſurrection happening in Anjou, he was obliged to call off his army and return home.

‡ The Normans and Picardees.

in oppoſition to Stephen. Thus the vanity of the people, and the intereſted views of the barons concurred to procure him a favourable reception in the duchy.

Stephen never doubted but he ſhould be able to make good his cauſe againſt all the power of the earl of Anjou; but he was more uneaſy about the great intereſt of his brother Theobald, who was openly patronized by the French king, without whoſe conſent, as lord paramount of Normandy, no one could be inveſted in that duchy. However, by the proper application of a round ſum of money, that political engine whoſe operations are ſeldom ſeen to fail, he found means to detach the French monarch from the cauſe of Theobald, and to procure the inveſtiture of the duchy for his ſon Euſtace.

Having thus ſtrengthened his claim by an appearance of right, he advanced againſt the earl of Anjou, who then lay with his forces in the neighbourhood of Argenton, one of the moſt important places in Normandy, and, at that time, in the earl's poſſeſſion. But when the two armies came in ſight of each other, a mutiny aroſe among Stephen's mercenaries, in conſequence of which he was obliged to make a peace with the earl, which ſoon after ended in a definitive treaty. By this accommodation, Stephen agreed

agreed to pay an annuity of five thousand marks to Geoffry, and another of two thousand to Theobald, as an equivalent for their claims on the duchy.

While he was thus settling the affairs of Normandy, he was suddenly recalled into England by the report of a conspiracy, formed by some disconcerted barons, for massacring all the foreigners, expelling the Normans, and placing the crown upon the head of the Scottish king, the next lineal heir of the Saxon line. Such a conspiracy (if it really was formed) must have been the effect of despair, to which the English were reduced by the severities and hardships they suffered under the Norman mercenaries *. But when we reflect, that David never avowed his design of ascending the throne of England, nor endeavoured, in any of his future invasions into that country, to avail himself of the partiality of the old English barons in his favour; in order to accomplish such a project, we shall be inclined to consider the whole as a groundless story, invented to serve some political purpose; and rather calculated to express the wishes of the nation, than

* It must be confessed, that the discovery of this plot is very circumstantial, it being first related to the bishop of Ely, and by him communicated to the rest of the regents whom the king had entrusted with the care of the administration during his absence.

than the reſult of any ſettled ſcheme. Several perſons however were apprehended on ſuſpicion, and capitally puniſhed.

But though David had, probably, no intenſion of aſſerting his claim to the throne of England, he was determined to maintain his right to the poſſeſſions he had in that country, as a peer of the realm. The Scottiſh kings had, ever ſince the time of Edward the elder, enjoyed the county of Northumberland, their right to it being ſometimes acknowledged, and ſometimes diſputed. Stephen, in his laſt interview with David, had promiſed to refer the deciſion of the matter to the great council of the nation: a promiſe which he had not yet performed, and probably never meant to perform, thinking, perhaps, that by keeping the queſtion undetermined, he ſhould have the Scottiſh king the more abſolutely at his devotion.

David ſeemed to be ſenſible of Stephen's inſincerity, and therefore reſolved to extort from him by force of arms, what he had no hopes of obtaining by gentler means. Accordingly, he aſſembled a numerous army, with which he invaded Northumberland; but Stephen advancing againſt him, he retreated to Roxburgh, whither he was purſued by the Engliſh king, who, finding it impoſſible to bring him to an action, returned into his own dominions, leaving, at the ſame time, a body of troops under the

command of William, earl of Albemarle, to oppose the Scots, in case of any future invasion.

This precaution was extremely necessary. David was no sooner informed of Stephen's retreat, than he again invaded England, and penetrated as far as Northallerton, where he was met by the earl of Albemarle and other northern barons, at the head of a numerous army. In a kind of wheel-carriage they had erected a long pole, at the top of which was a cross, and under this a banner, from whence the battle that ensued was called the battle of the standard. Around this standard were hung the banners of St. Peter, St. John of Beverly, and St. Wilfred. These pageants, however ridiculous and absurd, inspired the common men with a confidence, that contributed greatly to the success of the day. The English were drawn up about this standard in a firm compacted body, their front being composed of lancemen and archers, to withstand the first assault of the enemy. The * inhabitants of Galloway, who formed the van of the Scottish

* They were descended from the antient Britons, fought like them without defensive armour, and such weapons as were fit only for a sudden incursion. They claimed the first charge as their right, which occasioned a warm dispute between the earl of Strathern and Alexan de Percy; and was by the Scottish king determined in their favour, in order to prevent a mutiny.

tiſh army, advanced to the charge with their uſual impetuoſity, and obliged the firſt line of the Engliſh to give way; but as they were unprovided with defenſive weapons, they were ſoon repulſed and * driven back on the main body of their army. The † prince of Scotland, who commanded the ſecond line, then marched up to the attack with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that he penetrated even to the rear of the Engliſh army, which was thrown into confuſion. and, in all probability, would have ſuffered a total rout, had not an old ſoldier, cutting off a man's head, and erecting it on the point of a ſpear, called aloud, "Behold the head of the Scottiſh "king." This ſtratagem had the deſired effect. The Scots, thinking their king dead, were ſtruck with ſuch a pannic, that they ‡

* They loſt their two commanders Ulgrick and Donald; after which they were broken, and retired in great confuſion.

† He was a perſon of great beauty, valour, and merit; had under him a body of knights and archers, together with the militia of Cumberland and Tweedale; and was ſupported by Euſtace Fitz John, an Engliſh nobleman, who was a great favourite of the late king Henry. Having been arreſted by Stephen's orders, and detained in priſon 'till he ſurrendered Bamburg, and other caſtles, which Henry had committed to his charge, he reſented his diſgrace ſo highly, that he joined the enemy.

‡ The Scottiſh king being thus left almoſt alone, was prevailed upon to mount on horſeback, and retreat.

began to fly on all ſides; and David, finding it impoſſible to withſtand the efforts of the Engliſh, who now returned to the charge with redoubled fury, retreated in the beſt manner he could to Carliſle. The prince of Scotland thus left with a few attendants in the heart of the Engliſh army, ordered his companions to throw away their badges of diſtinction, and to mix with the Engliſh, until they ſhould find an opportunity of making their eſcape. In two days the prince found his father at Carliſle; who, believing he had left him dead on the field of battle, was over-joyed at his return. The Scots are ſaid to have loſt no leſs than ten thouſand men in this action. Stephen was ſo well pleaſed with the conduct of his general, that he created him earl of Yorkſhire; confering at the ſame time, the title of earl of Derby on Robert Ferrers, who had joined the army with a conſiderable reinforcement.

Notwithſtanding this defeat, David again invaded England in a few days, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Wark, which he took after an obſtinate defence.

Albericus,

treat. The fugitives now perceiving the royal banner, concluded that the report of their king's death was falſe, and rallying, joined him in ſuch numbers, as to puniſh their purſuers for their temerity, and convince them, that though they had been put to flight by a ſtratagem, they were reſolved to retrieve their character by their bravery.

Albericus, biſhop of Oſtia, the pope's legate in England, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the two contending monarchs. But all that he could obtain of David was a ſuſpenſion of arms for ſome months, during which Stephen's queen, Matilda, who was David's niece, laboured ſo effectually, that a treaty of peace was, next year, concluded at Durham. The terms of agreement were, That the prince of Scotland ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the whole county of Northumberland, except Newcaſtle and Bamburg, in lieu of which he ſhould enjoy certain lands in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom. Theſe articles being ratified and confirmed, the barons of Northumberland did homage to the Scottiſh prince, who attended Stephen in his return to court as a peer of the realm.

The concluſion of a peace with Scotland at this juncture was the more ſeaſonable, as Stephen had now to contend with a powerful faction of barons, who had fortified their caſtles, and openly renounced their allegiance. The principal of theſe noblemen were William Talbot, who held the caſtle of Hereford; William Lovel, who held that of Carew; Paganel, that of Ludlow; William de Mohun, that of Dunſter; Euſtace Fitz John, that of Malton; and William Fitz-Allen, that of Shrewſbury.

The pretext which theſe noblemen alledged for this rebellion, was, that Stephen had broken, in ſeveral inſtances, the ſolemn promiſes he had made at his coronation; but the real cauſe was the umbrage they had taken at the many favours and marks of diſtinction conferred by the king upon William d'Ypres and other foreigners.

Stephen, not caring to juſtify his conduct by any other argument than that of the ſword, immediately inveſted the caſtle of Hereford, which he reduced in a few days. He next aſſaulted the caſtle of Shrewſbury, which he took by ſtorm; and, in order to ſtrike terrour into the other rebels, he * hung up a conſiderable part of the garriſon upon the walls. He then ſat down before the caſtle of Ludlow; and in conducting the operations of the ſiege, he gave a remarkable proof of his courage and humanity.

The

* This act of ſeverity gave great diſguſt to ſome others of his officers; particularly to Wakelin, commander of Dover caſtle, who ſurrendered it up to the empreſs, as ſoon as he had heard this circumſtance, though he had before defended it with great reſolution and obſtinacy. When Stephen received the firſt intelligence of theſe inſurrections, he expreſſed no viſible concern in his aſpect, but was often heard to drop the following expreſſions: "Since they have choſen "me their king, why do they now deſert me? By "the birth of *God*, I will never be called an ejected "or abdicated king."

The prince of Scotland, who attended him in this expedition, having ventured too near the enemy's works, and being pulled from his horſe by an engine let down from the wall, Stephen boldly interpoſed, and reſcued him at the hazard of his own life. The garriſon of Ludlow made ſuch a vigorous defence, that Stephen was obliged to convert the ſiege into a blockade.

Mean while the earl of Glouceſter, being informed of theſe commotions, thought this a proper juncture for avowing his intentions in favour of the empreſs Matilda, hoping that his example would enduce the revolted barons to perſevere in their oppoſition.

It had been an ancient cuſtom among all the northern nations for a ſubject, before he proceeded to open acts of rebellion, to diſclaim the fealty, and re-demand the homage he had ſworn to his ſovereign. In compliance with this cuſtom, the earl of Glouceſter diſpatched meſſengers into England, to renounce his allegiance to Stephen, and to declare war againſt him in form. To this defiance the king made no other anſwer, than by ordering the earl's eſtates to be confiſcated.

But Stephen held the reins of government with ſuch a firm and ſteady hand, that neither the revolt of the earl of Glouceſter, the

the rebellion of the discontented barons, nor the general spirit of disaffection that prevailed in the nation, would have been able to shake his throne, had he not provoked the resentment of the clergy, by an ill-timed act of severity.

* Among those who, in consequence of the king's permission, had built castles on their estates, the bishops had not been the least forward. Roger, bishop of Salisbury, had not only fortified Old Sarum, but had likewise raised the castles of Sherburn, Malmesbury, and the Devizes; while his nephew Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, erected those of Newark and Sleford, declaring openly at the same time, that he designed them as much for the security as the dignity of the church. Nigel, bishop of Ely, another of Roger's nephews, affected such a state and magnificence in his manner of living, as excited the jealousy and envy of the nobility †, who could not bear to be thus eclipsed by mean and insolent upstarts; and therefore insinuated to his majesty, that he could never think himself secure of his crown, while this triumvirate of prelates continued to lord it over their fellow-subjects, and to possess a power at

* A. D. 1139.

† Particularly the earl of Meulant.

at once ſo dangerous and ſo inconſiſtent with their ſacred characters.

Stephen, who had long beheld with indignation the pride and inſolence of theſe overbearing prelates, liſtened with pleaſure to ſuch ſuggeſtions, and reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity that offered to ſtrip them of their exorbitant power. An incident that happened about this time, ſupplied him with the wiſhed-for occaſion. In a general aſſembly of the barons, which was held at Oxford, the attendants of the biſhop of Saliſbury, quarrelling with thoſe of Allen earl of Britanny, one of the earl's knights was killed in the ſcuffle, and many were wounded on both ſides. To anſwer for this riotous behaviour of his men, Roger was ſummoned to attend his majeſty at court. Thither he repaired, accompanied by his two nephews, and by ſuch a numerous train of followers, as excited the indignation of the other courtiers. The king, who only wanted a pretext for humbling his pride, inſiſted upon his delivering up all his caſtles; and on his diſcovering ſome reluctance to comply with his majeſty's commands, he and Alexander were committed to cloſe cuſtody. Nigel, biſhop of Ely, found means to make his eſcape, and retired to the caſtle of the Devizes, which he reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity.

But

But Stephen having brought the two biſhops before the caſtle, and threatened to hang them up in ſight of the garriſon, unleſs they would conſent to yield, Nigel was obliged to ſurrender; and the three prelates were forced to purchaſe their liberty, by delivering all their caſtles into the hands of the king. In theſe caſtles, where the biſhops kept their treaſures, Stephen is ſaid to have found ſeveral ſums of money, amounting in all to no leſs than forty thouſand marks.

This bold, but impolitic ſtep, alarmed the whole body of the clergy, who repreſented their own cauſe as the cauſe of God and religion, and loudly exclaimed againſt ſuch a violent and illegal encroachment on the privileges and immunities of the church.*

The biſhop of Wincheſter, Stephen's brother, who had been lately veſted with a legatine authority, convoked a general ſynod of the clergy, before which he ſummoned † the

* Hugh, archbiſhop of Roüen, being then in England, thought that the king's meaſures were founded on juſtice, and agreeable to the tenour of the goſpel. Caſtles, in his opinion, were not allowed the biſhops by the canons of the church; were irreconcileable with their function, as the preachers of peace; and could be looked upon in no other light, than as the ſanctuaries of diſloyalty and the aſylums of rebellion.

† The legate opened the council in a very warm ſpeech, wherein he expatiated upon the king's behaviour

the king to appear in perſon. But as Stephen had no intention to ſubject the civil to the eccleſiaſtical power, he contented himſelf with ſending one Aubery de Ver, an able lawyer, in his place. This gentleman endeavoured to juſtify the king's conduct, by obſerving that the biſhops had been ſeized not as prelates, but as peers of the realm, who had juſtly incurred his majeſty's diſpleaſure, and were ſtrongly ſuſpected of favouring the enemies of the government.

But the biſhops would, by no means, admit this diſtinction. They warmly inſiſted on the immunity of the church, which exempts the clergy from all ſubjection to the civil power, and renders them accountable only to their own order; threatening, at the ſame time, to lay the king under an interdict, if he did not make full and immediate reſtitution to the injured prelates.

Stephen, than whom no man was ever better qualified to contrive and execute any deſperate attempt, reſolved to humble their pride, and prevent the execution of their threats,

viour to the prelates, with great freedom; and aggravated every circumſtance, in order to blacken his character, to give ſtrength to his power, and to juſtify the traiterous prelates. When Stephen ſent to know the cauſe of his being ſummoned; the legate told his meſſenger, that "he had been guilty of ſuch a crime, "as had never been heard of; and ſhould not take it "amiſs, that he was called upon to make ſatisfaction."

threats, by one bold and vigorous effort. With this view, he ordered a number of armed men to attend near the place where the ſynod was, next day, to meet, and deſired * Aubery de Ver to acquaint the biſhops, that, if any appeal ſhould be made to the pope, the perſon who carried it ſhould never re-enter the kingdom. The prelates, ſtruck with ſuch a reſolute ſtep, and ſuch a peremptory declaration, began to talk in a lower tone; and, repairing to court, humbly entreated his majeſty to reſtore to the biſhops their caſtles and effects, promiſing to forgive all former offences, if he would be graciouſly pleaſed to comply with their preſent requeſt.

Stephen finding his ſtratagem had ſucceeded, and not chuſing to exaſperate their minds by needleſs ſeverity, politely excuſed himſelf from an immediate compliance with their requeſt, and artfully flattered them with ſome general promiſes which he never meant to perform. The prelates finding their threats and their intreaties alike ineffectual, were obliged to diſmiſs their aſſembly.

But

* The archbiſhop of Roüen had previouſly informed the ſynod, that the king was ready to reſtore the caſtles to the biſhops, if they could prove they had any right to them by the canons of the church: he added, that ſuppoſing they could do this, yet in ſuſpicious times it was cuſtomary among all nations, to commit all places of ſtrength to the diſpoſal of the chief magiſtrate.

But though the clergy were thus baffled in their attempts, the ſpirit of diſaffection excited in the nation, in conſequence of this imprudent meaſure, was ſo great, that the whole kingdom ſwarmed with malecontents, who only wanted a leader to command them.

Matilda being informed of theſe particulars, reſolved to avail herſelf of ſuch a favourable opportunity for aſſerting her right to the Engliſh crown. Accompanied, therefore, by the earl of Glouceſter, and a very ſmall body of forces, ſhe ſet ſail from the continent, and, after a quick paſſage, arrived ſafely at the caſtle of Arundel, where ſhe was kindly received, and hoſpitably entertained, by the queen dowager, who poſſeſſed that fortreſs as part of her dower. The earl of Glouceſter, thinking his ſiſter perfectly ſafe in a place of ſo great ſtrength, and ſurrounded by ſo many friends and well-wiſhers, left her with the dowager and repaired to Briſtol.

Stephen, who was then engaged in the ſiege of Marlborough, was no ſooner informed of Matilda's arrival, than he advanced to Arundel.* The queen dowager,

* The manuſcript of Richard of the Devizes, in the Cottonian library, marked Domitian, N. 13, relates that the king, knowing that Maude was now expected by

though warmly attached to the cauſe of the empreſs, was unwilling to come to an open rupture with Stephen. She, therefore, ſent a meſſenger to acquaint him, that ſhe had received Matilda not as his enemy or a competitor for the crown, but only as her daughter-in-law; to whom ſhe could not refuſe the common offices of hoſpitality: that, ſhould he endeavour to ſeize her while in her caſtle, ſhe was bound by all the laws of honour and humanity, to protect her to the laſt extremity; but that, as ſhe had no intention to interfere in their quarrels, ſhe would take it as a particular favour, if he would allow her to retire to ſome other place, where he might beſiege her with a greater probability of ſucceſs than in Arundel caſtle.

Stephen behaved, on this occaſion, with more gallantry than prudence. * For he not only

by the malecontents, endeavoured by the moſt popular methods to allay the acrimony of the nobility, and ſecure to himſelf the affection of the commons. With this view he granted earldoms and baronies, out of the crown lands, to the former; and indulged the latter with the privilege of building caſtles, and the liberty of hunting and hawking.

* The anonymous writer of this monarch's life, in Du Chene's collection, aſſigns another reaſon, which is ſubmitted to the reader's judgment. According to this writer, Stephen was diſſuaded from beſieging the empreſs in this caſtle, by his brother the biſhop of Wincheſter,

only complied with the dowager's requeſt, but gave his word that Matilda ſhould be ſafely conducted to Briſtol, whither in a few days ſhe accordingly repaired, and ſoon after proceeded to Glouceſter. In both theſe cities ſhe managed the diſcontents of the clergy and nobility with ſo much addreſs, that ſhe engaged moſt of them in her intereſt. Stephen's only adherents were a few barons and his foreign mercenaries, who, though ill paid, continued to ſerve him with great fidelity.

The whole kingdom was now involved in the utmoſt anarchy and confuſion; every province, every town, and almoſt every individual, as led by intereſt or inclination, declaring for one or other of the competitors. The neighbouring lords attacked each other, with all the cruelty of the moſt implacable rancour, burning the houſes, waſting the lands, and plundering the effects of the weak and defenceleſs peaſants. The barons aſſumed a ſovereign power within their own eſtates, and even coined money in their caſtles. The king and the empreſs, inſtead of redreſſing, were both obliged to connive at theſe irregularities. Matilda was afraid

Wincheſter, who repreſented the length of time ſo ſtrong a place would coſt him, during which the earl of Glouceſter might over-run the beſt part of the kingdom without oppoſition.

of punishing her friends, lest she should alienate their affections; and as Stephen could not pay his mercenaries, they were allowed to live at free quarter, and to commit the most terrible outrages.

The bishop of Winchester, who had had a principal share in exciting these commotions, began, though too late, to be sensible of his errour. He plainly perceived that, should his brother be dethroned, he himself must be involved in the common ruin; and he therefore resolved to support him with all the interest which his wealth, his popularity, and his legatine character, enabled him to exert. Accordingly, having drawn to Winchester a considerable number of barons, who favoured the cause of Matilda, he detained them prisoners till they delivered their castles to the king.

Stephen, encouraged by this accession of strength, resolved to put an end to the war at once by laying siege to Wallingford, where the empress and the earl of Gloucester were shut up. But the garrison making a more obstinate defence than he expected, he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. He was no sooner retired with the main body of the army, than the earl of Gloucester escaped from the castle, and repaired to Worcester, which he secured; while the barons of his party, laid waste

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the counties of Cheſter and Nottingham. Matilda, finding herſelf too hardly preſſed in Wallingford, eluded the vigilance of the beſiegers, and made her eſcape to Lincoln.

As ſoon as Stephen was informed of her flight, he immediately went in purſuit of her; well knowing that Lincoln, which was a place of no great ſtrength, could not hold out for any conſiderable time. Accordingly, he had inveſted the town but a few days, when the garriſon was obliged to agree to a ſurrender; but, while the articles of capitulation were drawing up, Matilda ſlipt out at a poſtern gate, and thus once more eſcaped the hands of her rival. Stephen, thus diſappointed of his aim, retired with the whole of his army, not chuſing to weaken his ſtrength by leaving a garriſon behind him. But he was hardly gone, when he received intelligence that the earl of Cheſter, ſon-in-law to the earl of Glouceſter, was come to Lincoln with his wife and brother, to keep his Chriſtmas. Stephen knew that the earl of Glouceſter was extremely fond of his daughter, and that, therefore, could he get this lady into his poſſeſſion, he ſhould be able to make what terms he pleaſed with the earl. He accordingly returned to Lincoln, which he immediately inveſted on all ſides. The earl of

Cheſter found means to eſcape to the earl of Glouceſter, and to acquaint him with the imminent danger to which his daughter was expoſed. Robert did not heſitate a moment, but immediately ſet out for Lincoln, and advanced with ſuch incredible diſpatch, that he had almoſt ſurprized the king, who never dreamed of his approach. Having forded the Trent, at a place which the king thought impaſſable, he came, on a ſudden, ſo cloſe to the royal army, that an action could not be avoided. The two armies being drawn up, the battle began with great fury, and was maintained for ſome time with equal bravery on both ſides. But, at laſt, the king's horſe giving way, they were ſo vigorouſly preſſed that they could never more be rallied. The earl of Glouceſter, inſtead of purſuing the flying horſe, attacked the king's infantry with ſuch impetuoſity, that they too were immediately routed. Stephen, whoſe great ſoul could not bear the thoughts of an ignominious flight, was thus left alone, and on foot, in the midſt of the field of battle, aſſaulted by multitudes, whoſe efforts he reſiſted with the moſt undaunted courage. He fought with incredible fury, until his battle-ax was broke to pieces; and then, drawing his ſword, he defended himſelf for a conſiderable time, foaming with rage to ſee himſelf ſo baſely aban-

abandoned by his army. At length, after performing prodigies of valour, and the blade of his ſword being ſhivered to pieces, he ſtill continued fighting with his truncheon, until he was felled to the ground by the blow of a ſtone. Upon this, a knight, called William de Kaines, ſpringing forward, and ſeizing him by the creſt, preſented his ſword to his throat, and threatened him with inſtant death, if he would not ſurrender. Notwithſtanding the great danger to which he was expoſed, he refuſed to ſurrender to any but the earl of Glouceſter, who, being near the ſpot, came up and took him priſoner. He was immediately conducted to Briſtol, where the empreſs, forgetting the civilities he had ſhewn her on her firſt arrival, and with that impotence of mind which ever attends female reſentment, cruelly ordered him to be loaded with irons.

Matilda did not fail to improve this advantage. She forthwith made a progreſs through ſeveral parts of the country, where ſhe was readily acknowledged as ſovereign. All England abandoned the captive king, except London and the county of Kent, in which his queen Maude, his ſon Euſtace, and his favourite William d'Ypres, ſtill maintained his authority.

But, though the empreſs had thus got her rival in chains, and procured the in-

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tereſt of moſt of the barons, there was ſtill one obſtacle to her aſcending the throne, and that was the biſhop of Wincheſter.

She knew that this prelate, who, in conſequence of his legatine power, was at the head of the church, could excite the whole body of the clergy againſt her, and their example would have great influence on the common people. She therefore thought, that, if ſhe could detach Henry from the intereſt of his brother, and engage him to eſpouſe her cauſe, ſhe ſhould ſecure all the biſhops in her party.

* With this view ſhe repaired to his palace at Wincheſter, when ſhe made him the moſt tempting offers, promiſing to be guided wholly by his counſels, and to leave the vacant biſhoprics entirely to his diſpoſal. Henry, with that fickleneſs of mind, for which he was ſo remarkable, and reſtrained by no principles of honour, to which he was an utter ſtranger, readily embraced the propoſal, and immediately took an oath of allegiance to her; but on this expreſs condition, that it ſhould be no longer binding, than ſhe continued to act according to her promiſe.

Next day he received her, with great pomp, in the cathedral church, where he ſolemnly excommunicated all the king's adherents,

† A. D. 1141.

herents, and offered abſolution to all thoſe who ſhould abandon his party, and eſpouſe the cauſe of Matilda. His example was ſoon followed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſwore allegiance to the empreſs; but not till he had obtained the conſent of the captive king, whom, for that purpoſe, he conſulted in priſon.

The legate, having undertaken to ſecure the intereſt of the clergy, convoked a council at Wincheſter, where all the biſhops and abbots attended. He firſt took an opportunity to confer in private with the ſeveral members, whom he eaſily brought over to his ſentiments. Having thus prepared them for the declaration he intended to make, he next day opened the ſeſſion with a long and laboured ſpeech, in which he endeavoured to prove, that the tyranny and male-adminiſtration of his brother were the real ſources of all the calamities, in which the nation was involved. He owned, indeed, that he himſelf had pledged his faith for him, when the ſtate of affairs made it neceſſary to advance him to the throne; but he found he had been greatly deceived with regard to his real character, and was now obliged to revoke his engagement. He inſiſted upon the firſt oath he had taken to the empreſs, adding, that it was more reaſonable to obey the orders of his eternal Father, than to con-

conſult the intereſts of a carnal brother. He told them he had done all that lay in his power to reclaim Stephen from his wicked courſes, and for that purpoſe had ſummoned him before a ſynod of the clergy, with which ſummons he had imperiouſly refuſed to comply; that, from that circumſtance alone, they might eaſily judge to what ſeverities and hardſhips they would have been expoſed, under the government of a man who diſcovered ſo little regard to the authority of the church and intereſt of religion; and that ſince the judgment of heaven had overtaken him whom they had choſen king, they ought to atone for their fault by reſtoring the crown to the lawful heireſs. "I have, therefore," adds he, "convened you, by virtue of the apoſtolic power committed to me, in order to conſult about the means of putting a ſtop to the calamities of the nation. This affair was yeſterday examined, in preſence of moſt of the clergy, who ought doubtleſs to have a principal ſhare in the election of a king; and, after the moſt ſerious and mature deliberation, we have reſolved to acknowledge Maude, daughter of Henry I. as ſovereign and queen of England."

Such of the members as had not been let into the ſecret, were greatly ſurprized at

at this declaration; but as no one chose to express his dislike, the legate interpreted their silence into a general approbation. He then told them, that he had summoned the magistrates of London to attend the council, to which they had promised to send their deputies. Next day, indeed, the deputies arrived; but instead of approving of the conduct of the synod, they demanded, in the name of their constituents, that the king should be released from prison. The legate replied, that it ill became the citizens of London, to join with those barons who had basely deserted their king in battle, and were now endeavouring to involve the nation in fresh troubles. The deputies demanding a more definitive answer, the legate said that the matter was already fixed, and could not be altered.

Before the synod broke up, a chaplain, belonging to Stephen's queen, appeared in the council, and presented a letter to the legate; who, having glanced it over in a cursory manner, told the members that the contents of it were of such a nature as not to be communicated to such an august assembly. The chaplain, who seems to have been a man of spirit, boldly snatched it from the legate's hand, and read it aloud. It appeared to be a letter from the queen herself, in which she humbly entreated that her

her husband might be set at liberty. But it met with no more regard, than the application from the city of London. The legate having fully accomplished her design, immediately dissolved the assembly.

Nothing was now wanting to pave Matilda's way to the throne, but the consent of the city of London. For this purpose, she was obliged to enter into a negociation with the inhabitants, and in the mean time she retired to Reading, where she was met by Robert d'Oyley, governour of Oxford, who came to offer her the keys of his castle, and entreated her to honour the city with her presence. With this request she readily complied; and, after having received an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants of Oxford, and some of the adjacent places, she returned to St. Albans, where she waited the result of the negociation that was carrying on with the city of London.

London was, at this time, involved in the utmost anarchy and confusion; part of the citizens declaring for Stephen, and part of them for Matilda. But the balance, which, by these opposite and almost equal interests, was long kept in equilibrio, was at length cast in favour of the empress, by the influence of Robert earl of Gloucester, who, on account of his great virtues and abilities, was equally respected by both parties. Ma-

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tilda was no ſooner informed of this happy event, than ſhe entered the city in triumph, amidſt the noiſy acclamations of her friends, and the ſilent acquieſcence of her enemies.

Having now removed every obſtacle that could obſtruct her acceſſion to the throne, ſhe gave orders for making the neceſſary preparations to celebrate her coronation. But the crown, which was almoſt ready to drop upon her head, ſhe was ſo imprudent as to loſe by her female pride and obſtinacy.

The wife of the depoſed king, fondly imagining that, amidſt the ſmiles of joy and exultation which played on Matilda's countenance, her heart could not poſſibly retain any ſeeds of rancour and reſentment, reſolved to improve this happy opportunity, in order to procure the liberty of her huſband. With this view ſhe waited on the empreſs, and, in a moſt humble and ſubmiſſive manner, prefered her petition; engaging, in her huſband's name, and by his authority, that, in conſideration of his obtaining his freedom, he would renounce all pretenſions to the crown, quit the kingdom, and paſs the reſt of his days in a monaſtery; and even offering to deliver hoſtages for the performance of his promiſe. But Matilda, whether influenced by motives of prudence,

or actuated by a ſpirit of revenge, haughtily rejected theſe propoſals; and even forbid the unfortunate queen ever to appear in her preſence for the future.

Though the queen had no great reaſon to be ſurpriſed at the bad ſucceſs of her application, and the cruel reception ſhe met with from the empreſs; Henry, biſhop of Wincheſter, was both ſurpriſed and enraged at a refuſal he received a few days after. He had entreated Matilda to confirm the titles of earl of Boulogne and Mortagne to his nephew Euſtace, whoſe mother was daughter and heireſs of the late earl of Boulogne. To this juſt requeſt, he met with a peremptory denial. His proud and haughty ſoul could not brook this indignity. He had had a principal ſhare in raiſing her to the high ſtation ſhe now poſſeſſed, and the higher proſpects ſhe had in view; and he reſolved to convince her, by ſad experience, that he could deprive her of both the one and the other; and tumble her down from the ſummit of grandeur, with as much eaſe as he had ſet her up. But whatever apology may be made for Matilda, in refuſing the petitions of the queen and the legate; no excuſe can, ſurely, be offered for her behaviour to the magiſtrates of London.

Theſe reſpectable perſons waited on her in a body, and humbly deſired her to conſent

ſent to a mitigation of the Norman laws, and to a revival of thoſe of king Edward. This indulgence they had the greater reaſon to expect, as her father Henry had promiſed to grant it, had he ſurvived his laſt illneſs. Beſides, they could not conceive that a perſon whoſe preſent happineſs, and future hopes, depended entirely on the favour of the public, would be ſo imprudent as to forfeit that favour, by refuſing a demand which was ſo extremely juſt and reaſonable.

But thoſe who adhere to the ſtrict rules of probability, in forming conjectures about the conduct of weak, fickle, and capricious perſons, will always find themſelves greatly diſappointed. Perhaps Matilda's head was giddy with ſucceſs. Perhaps ſhe conſidered all petitions as ſo many commands; and as ſhe nobly (and no doubt juſtly!) thought that no human being had a right to command her, ſhe therefore reſolved to ſhew her independence, by flatly refuſing every petition. Whatever was her motive, the poor woman had either ſo weak a head or ſo bad a heart, that ſhe not only rejected the application of the citizens of London, but even treated it with the utmoſt contempt and diſdain; a ſtep which expoſed her, and (as their requeſt may be conſidered as the requeſt of the whole nation) juſtly expoſed her

to all the calamities and misfortunes she afterwards suffered in this island.

The people now began to open their eyes, and, divesting Matilda of all the glare of royalty, they viewed her in her real and genuine character. They plainly perceived, that instead of mild and gentle administration, they should have nothing but scenes of tyranny, cruelty, and oppression: they were fully convinced, that instead of a merciful queen, they should be plagued with a female fury. Every mouth was now opened in condemning the conduct, every art was now employed in destroying the interest, of Matilda. Nothing was talked of but her haughty, arrogant, and insolent behaviour; and the terrible calamities in which the nation must necessarily be involved, should she ever succeed to the throne.

The bishop of Winchester did not fail to encourage these popular disgusts, by painting the character of the empress in the blackest and most hateful colours; and, in a short time, he inflamed their resentment to such a pitch, that he actually prevailed upon them to form a plot for seizing her person. Matilda was no sooner informed of the imminent danger to which she was exposed, than she fled with great precipitation, leaving her furniture behind her, which was instantly plundered by the populace.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

The Great Seal of K. Stephen.

Engravid for Rider's History of England.

BRITISH
MUSEUM

The Great Seal of Maude the Empress

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

Though the legate had miſſed his aim by the eſcape of Matilda, he had yet gained a conſiderable point, in obliging her to quit the capital, and in engaging the citizens in his intereſt. Confident of their aſſiſtance, he began to concert meaſures privately with the queen, his ſiſter in-law, and with his nephew Euſtace, whom he ordered to have the Kentiſh men in readineſs to take arms at a moment's warning. Having taken theſe neceſſary precautions, he gained over to the king's party ſeveral of the diſcontented barons, and furniſhed the caſtle of Wincheſter with a ſufficient quantity of arms and proviſions.

The empreſs Maude was now convinced, that if ſhe aſcended the throne, it could not be by the favour of the people, but only by force of arms. She, accordingly, put herſelf at the head of her troops, and, attended by the earl of Glouceſter and the king of Scotland, who had come into England to aſſiſt at the coronation, ſhe proceeded to Wincheſter.

As the legate as yet had not openly declared againſt her, ſhe reſolved to enſnare him, if poſſible, by a ſhew of confidence and friendſhip. She therefore ſent him a meſſage, deſiring he would attend her in her camp, as ſhe wanted to ſpeak to him about ſome private buſineſs. The legate, conſci-

ous of the steps he had taken, and fully convinced of Maude's insincerity, determined to repay her in her own coin. Accordingly he sent her word, that he was getting ready as soon as possible *, hoping to persuade her, by this ambiguous answer, that he meaned to obey her summons; but really intending to escape with the first opportunity: and indeed the messenger was no sooner gone, than he eloped through a postern gate, and, repairing to his nephew Eustace, immediately put the Londoners and Kentish men in arms. At the head of these troops, which formed a considerable army, he advanced to Winchester with such expedition, that he almost surprized the empress, who had hardly time to retire into the castle, which was presently invested. As the inhabitants of Winchester, instead of remaining neuter, discovered a strong partiality in favour of the empress, the legate ordered the city, though the capital of his diocese, to be set on fire; in consequence of which no less than twenty churches, and a nunnery, were reduced to ashes; an action, which, though justified by the laws of war, is certainly condemned by the dictates of humanity.

The legate had stored the castle with such a quantity of ammunition, as enabled the

* The expression in the original, is "Parabo me."

the garriſon to make a long and vigorous defence. After the ſiege, however, had continued for the ſpace of two months, they began to be in want of proviſion. And as the legate ſeemed determined not to leave the place till he had reduced it, they reſolved to force a paſſage through the enemy ſword in hand, and, at all events, to ſecure the perſon of the empreſs. Accordingly they ſallied out in good order, Matilda and the king of Scotland marching in the front, and the earl of Glouceſter bringing up the rear. They had no ſooner left the caſtle, than the king's troops began to purſue them. The earl of Glouceſter made a bold and vigorous defence, and exhibited many proofs of moſt undaunted courage and reſolution. But in ſecuring the liberty of the empreſs he unhappily loſt his own. In paſſing through a narrow defile, he was attacked by the enemy with ſuch terrible fury, that his troops were routed and he himſelf taken priſoner. He was immediately delivered into the hands of William d'Ypres, who ordered him to be conducted to Rocheſter in Kent, where he was committed to cloſe cuſtody, but treated with more lenity and mildneſs than Stephen.

Mean while Matilda eſcaped to the caſtle of Lugerſhall, and from thence to the Devizes;

vizes; where after she remained a few days, she resolved to proceed to Gloucester. But as all the roads were lined with the king's soldiers, she suffered herself to be inclosed in a bier, in which she was conducted to Gloucester, where she was joined by Milo, high constable of the realm, who had long served her with great fidelity.

The adherents of Stephen had no sooner got the earl of Gloucester in their power, than they endeavoured to detach him from the cause of the empress, and engage him in the party of the king. They offered him the government of the whole realm under Stephen, if he would embrace the interest of that prince; and, finding him deaf to their promises, they threatened to send him beyond sea, and commit him close prisoner in Boulogne. But neither their threats nor their promises could shake his fidelity, nor induce him to renounce his allegiance to his sister.

They then proposed that he should be exchanged for Stephen; but this proposal he refused to accept, unless they would, at the same time, release all the persons of distinction they had taken, so as to make up the difference between his rank and the king's. This expedient, however, was rejected by William d'Ypres, who would not forego the prospect of ransom. At length,

length, after six months confinement, Matilda, who had a great regard for him, and justly considered him as the soul of her party, agreed that he should be exchanged for Stephen.

On this occasion many endeavours were used to effect a reconciliation between the king and the empress, but in vain. The object of their ambition could not be divided, and neither party would resign their pretensions, so that both were left to prosecute the war with fresh vigour.

The bishop of Winchester, upon deserting the cause of the empress, had wrote to the pope, entreating him to authorize his proceedings in behalf of the king. The pope, who had no information of what passed in England, from any but the legate, readily granted his request. The legate received a letter from his holiness a little before his brother's release. In this letter the pontiff blames the bishop for being so remiss in restoring the king to liberty, and replacing him on the throne; and, in order to accomplish this end, he gives him a full commission to employ temporal as well as spiritual arms.

Supported by this authority, Henry convoked a synod of the clergy at Westminster, when the pope's letter was publickly read. The king, who was present, complained loudly

loudly of the infidelity of his subjects, who, not content with renouncing their allegiance, and making war upon their sovereign, had detained him so long in a disgraceful captivity. The legate endeavoured, in a long rhetorical speech, to justify his own conduct, and the frequent violation of his oaths, and then concluded by excommunicating all the adherents of the empress as enemies to the public peace.

The people were equally surprised and dissatisfied, to see themselves thus subjected to excommunications, which ever party they espoused; but well knowing that complaints would be of no avail, they prudently held their peace. A messenger however, sent by the empress, charged the legate to his face, with having invited her into England, and advised her to detain the king in prison, and to treat him with so much severity and rigour. If this charge was false, it was so impudent as to deserve no answer; if true, it was so heavy as to admit of no apology. Whatever was the reason, the bishop made no reply.

Stephen, having now recovered his liberty, exerted himself with such activity and vigour, that he soon turned the scale in his own favour, and reduced Matilda's party to the lowest ebb of misery and distress. The earl of Gloucester, finding it impossible to withstand

withſtand the efforts of ſuch a bold and daring antagoniſt, reſolved to prop the declining power of his ſiſter by foreign aid. With this view he went over to the Continent, and entreated the count of Anjou to come to the aſſiſtance of his wife *. But Geoffrey was ſo deeply embroiled with the barons of Normandy and Anjou, that he could not, with any regard to his own ſafety, comply with his requeſt. All that he could do, was to ſend her a ſmall reinforcement of about four hundred men, together with his eldeſt ſon Henry, hoping that the preſence of the young prince would have a happy effect in retrieving the ruined affairs of his mother.

During the earl's abſence, Matilda ſhut herſelf up in Oxford, where ſhe determined to continue till the arrival of the foreign ſuccours. Stephen did not neglect ſuch a favourable opportunity of improving his fortune. He immediately advanced to Oxford at the head of his army, and entered the city ſo ſuddenly that Maude had hardly time to retire into the caſtle, which was preſently inveſted. The place was attacked and defended, for ſome time, with equal intrepidity and courage. At laſt the garriſon was reduced to ſuch extremity, that Maude was obliged to agree to a capitulation.

* A D. 1142.

tion. Conſcious, however, of the cruel treatment ſhe had given the king, and dreading the like fate for herſelf, ſhe reſolved to avoid the impending danger by a precipitate flight. Accordingly, being favoured by a dark night, ſhe found means to eſcape through a poſtern gate, in company with four attendants. As the ground was covered with ſnow they had dreſſed themſelves in white, in order to elude the vigilance of the enemy. In this manner they travelled on foot to Abingdon, where Matilda taking horſe, rode the ſame night to Wallingford. There ſhe was met by her brother and her ſon, who had juſt arrived in England, and at ſight of whom ſhe was ſo overjoyed, that ſhe forgot all her cares and diſtreſſes. Mean while, the caſtle of Oxford was ſurrendered to Stephen, who was greatly diſappointed at the eſcape of the empreſs; but as the ſeaſon was now far advanced, the troops on both ſides were put into winter-quarters.

In the beginning of the year 1143, Stephen undertook an expedition into the weſtern counties, where he reduced ſeveral places to his obedience. He then made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Wareham, and marching from thence to Wilton, began to erect a fortreſs to check the excurſions of the garriſon of Saliſbury. While he was employed

employed in this work, he was almoſt ſurprized by the earl of Glouceſter, who came upon him ſo ſuddenly, that he had hardly time to draw out his forces. After a ſlight oppoſition, his army was put to the flight, and himſelf oblige to leave the field with the loſs of all his plate and furniture.

But Stephen, ſoon after, ſuffered more conſiderable loſs by his brother Henry's being deprived of the legative power, which, upon the acceſſion of Celeſtin II. to the papal chair, was given to Theobald, archbiſhop. Though this prelate was in Stephen's intereſt, yet as he could not depend upon him with ſuch an unreſerved confidence as upon his brother, he conſidered the event as a great detriment to his affairs.

Stephen had both committed and experienced ſo many acts of infidelity, that it is no wonder if he was infected with a ſpirit of jealouſy and ſuſpicion; and this ſpirit, as uſually happens, led him to purſue ſuch meaſures, as afforded ample matter for repentance. Geoffrey de Magneville, a nobleman of great parts and vaſt poſſeſſions, he had created earl of Eſſex, and appointed governour of the Tower of London; but Stephen giving credit to ſome malicious perſons, who repreſented Geoffrey as a ſecret friend of the empreſs, cauſed him to be arreſted at St. Alban's, and obliged him

to purchase his liberty by a surrender of the Tower of London, and of his castles of Malden and Pleshy.

Though Geoffrey was probably a sincere friend to the king, before he suffered this indignity, he now commenced his professed enemy, and went immediately to offer his service to the empress, who confirmed his title, and appointed him hereditary high-sheriff of London, Middlesex and Hertfordshire. To approve himself worthy of these favours, he assembled a body of his vassals, with which he destroyed Cambridge, and several other places belonging to Stephen, whom he continued greatly to distress, till at last he was killed at the siege of Burwille Castle.

The fatal consequences of this imprudent measure were not sufficient to cure Stephen of his jealousy. He soon after treated Ralph, earl of Chester, in the same manner.

This nobleman had neglected to deliver up some royal castles which he possessed. The king construing his neglect into a refusal, immediately ordered him to be seized, and detained him in prison until he had resigned all his castles. Ralph was so incensed at this injurious treatment, that he forthwith assembled his forces, and in conjunction with his nephew Gilbert, earl of Clare, attacked, surprized, and reduced a number

number of the king's fortreſſes *. At laſt, however, he was overpowered, but not till he had weakened the king's hands to ſuch a degree as diſabled him from making advantage of Maude's leaving the kingdom; an event which ſoon after happened.

Matilda's party was now reduced to ſuch a low ebb, that ſhe began to give up all hopes of aſcending the Engliſh throne She had, by her haughty and inſolent behaviour, alienated the minds of all the common people, and many of the barons who formerly favoured her cauſe. She therefore reſolved to return to her huſband, who was extremely deſirous of ſeeing his wife and his ſon, after ſuch a long abſence. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1147, ſhe embarked in company with the young prince and ſome Engliſh noblemen; and after a quick and eaſy paſſage, landed ſafely on the Continent. Immediately after her departure, her intereſt received a more violent ſhock than ever, by the death of the earl of Glouceſter, who by his courage and conduct had ſupported her cauſe for ſo many years, amidſt all the difficulties, ariſing from the perverſe-

* Stephen kept his Chriſtmas in 1147 at Lincoln, where, with that noble contempt of old women's ſtories which ever diſtinguiſhes a great ſoul, he wore his crown, notwithſtanding a prophecy (as it was called) denouncing death or ſome terrible calamity to any prince, who ſhould wear a crown in that city.

neſs of her own temper, and the oppoſition of her enemies.

Stephen, having now got rid of his rival, might eaſily have eſtabliſhed his throne upon ſuch a firm foundation as to render it proof againſt any future attack, had he not been ſo imprudent as again to embroil himſelf with the clergy. He and his brother Henry were ſo highly enraged at pope Eugenius III. who had now ſucceeded to the papal throne, for having beſtowed the legative power upon Theobold, archbiſhop of Canterbury, that they greedily embraced every opportunity of mortifying that prelate.

The pope having ſummoned Theobald, with the biſhops of Worceſter, Bath, Exeter and Chicheſter to attend his council, the king peremptorily forbad him to leave the kingdom, hoping, that if he diſobeyed the pope's orders, he would be ſuſpended or deprived, and reſolving, if he obeyed them, to ſeize his revenues, and treat him as an out-law. But Theobald choſe rather to incur the diſpleaſure of the king than that of his holineſs; and accordingly embarking in an open boat he arrived ſafely on the Continent, and proceeded to the council, at the concluſion of which he returned to Canterbury, where he found all his effects ſequeſtered by order of the king, who went thither

thither, and commanded him to quit the kingdom *.

During his exile, he had wrote letters to ſeveral churches in England, threatening to lay them under an interdict if they did not oppoſe the unjuſt proceedings of Stephen. This interdict, he now publiſhed againſt all the churches which acknowledged the king. Divine ſervice immediately ceaſed in all the churches ſubjected to that prince, while it was celebrated, as uſual, in thoſe which adhered to the empreſs. This diſtinction produced a very ſenſible effect among the people who were ſeized with religious horrour and conſternation. To eaſe their minds of theſe ſcruples great numbers engaged in a cruſade which was undertaken about this time, and ſtrongly recommended by St. Bernard †.

Geoffrey Plantagenet's ſon Henry being now turned of ſixteen, his father reſolved to put him in poſſeſſion of Normandy, and with that view ſent him to Carliſle to be knighted by David, king of Scotland. Accordingly, Henry arriving in England, with a numerous retinue of knights and ſoldiers, was conducted by Ralph, earl of Cheſter, Roger earl of Hereford, and ſeveral other noblemen to Carliſle, where the

* A. D. 1147. † A. D. 1148.

ceremony was performed with great pomp and solemnity *.

Stephen being informed of Henry's arrival, and apprehending it might be attended with some commotions, immediately assembled his forces, and advanced to York; but finding the country perfectly quiet, and that the enemy had no inclination to meet him, he soon after returned to London. Henry having received the order of knighthood, and confirmed his friends in his interest, returned to his father, who died in a short time after.

Stephen having now established himself in the possession of the throne, resolved, if possible, to secure the succession of it in his own family. With this view he assembled a council of the prelates and nobility, in which he proposed to confer the crown on his son Eustace; but in this he met with unsuspected obstacles. The archbishop of Canterbury, whose province it was to perform the ceremony, flatly refused to comply with his request; and the reason he gave for his refusal was more mortifying than the refusal itself. He said, that the pope had absolutely forbid him to crown the son of an usurper †.

Stephen, enraged at this insult, ordered all the bishops to be confined in a close apartment, till they should consent to comply

* A. D. 1149. † A. D. 1151

ply with his will. The reſult of this violent meaſure was ſuch as might be expected; inſtead of ſoftening, it tended only to render them more refractory. The houſe where they were ſhut up not being ſtrictly guarded, the archbiſhop found means to eſcape to the continent, and thereby defeated the project.

Stephen was greatly offended at the preſumption of the clergy, in pretending to have a right to make and unmake kings, as either their intereſt or their inclination led them. As he did not queſtion but Henry, who had now ſucceeded his father in the duchy of Normandy, had gained the biſhops to his party, he reſolved, by ſeizing their caſtles, to deprive them of all power of ſupporting the intereſt of that prince, ſhould he ever return again to England *. And it was well for him that he did ſo; for Henry had no ſooner ſettled his affairs in Normandy, than he embarked an hundred and fifty knights, with three thouſand infantry on board of ſix and thirty ſhips, and landed in England, where he was immediately joined by a great number of barons. Though the ſeaſon was already far advanced, he proceeded to Malmeſbury, which he preſently inveſted, and took after an obſtinate defence †. He was there joined by Robert, earl of Leiceſter,

* A. D. 1152. † A. D. 1173.

ceſter, who came to make him a tender of his ſervice: Gunreda, counteſs of Norwich, put him in poſſeſſion of her ſtrong caſtle; and Reading, and above thirty other fortreſſes, ſubmitted to him without reſiſtance. He then inveſted the fort, which Stephen had built to block up Wallingford, and took it by aſſault, before the king could come to its aſſiſtance.

Stephen was no ſooner informed of theſe proceedings, than he aſſembled his forces, and advanced againſt the enemy; but when the two armies came in ſight of each other, a treaty was ſet on foot by the mediation of William, earl of Arundel, and ſome other noblemen, in conſequence of which they parted without fighting. But notwithſtanding theſe conferences for a peace, hoſtilities were ſtill continued. Henry reduced the caſtles of Nottingham and Stamford, while Stephen made himſelf maſter of Ipſwich. At laſt, however, a treaty was concluded on the following conditions; That Stephen ſhould continue to reign during life, and juſtice be adminiſtered in his name, though no matter of importance ſhould be tranſacted without the advice and conſent of Henry, who ſhould ſucceed him on the throne, and in the mean time receive hoſtages for the performance of articles; that Stephen's ſon William ſhould inherit all the lands

lands his father poſſeſſed in England and Normandy, before he aſcended the throne, together with the eſtate of William, earl of Warren, whoſe daughter he had married, and ſeven hundred pounds a year in the county of Norfolk, for which he ſhould do homage to Henry *.

This treaty being ſolemnly ratified by both parties, Stephen and Henry entered London together, in a moſt grand and magnificent manner, where they were received with joyful ſhouts and acclamations by the inhabitants, who conſidered this agreement as the ſure pledge of national peace and tranquillity, after all the ravages and devaſtations of a civil war. Nor were they diſappointed in their expectations; for Stephen, who was a prince of great abilities, being now eſtabliſhed in the quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, made a tour through the whole kingdom, reforming every where the enormities which the late confuſions had introduced, and enacting many wiſe laws and regulations. Some time after this, Stephen had a freſh conference with Henry at Oxford, and another at Dunſtable; in both which, the former treaty was renewed and confirmed in preſence of the nobility and biſhops, who took an oath of allegiance to Henry, as preſumptive heir to the crown.

But

* A. D. 1154.

But though Stephen was heartily reconciled to Henry, his ſon William, it ſeems, was not equally ſo; for we are told, that, in conjunction with the Flemings, who had ſettled here in great numbers, under the protection of William d'Ypres, earl of Kent, he formed a conſpiracy againſt Henry's life, while the latter reſided at Dover, whither he had gone to receive Theodoret, earl of Flanders and his ducheſs, who had arrived in England; and that, had he not fractured his leg by a fall from his horſe on Barham Downs, he would certainly have carried the ſcheme into execution. The truth, however, of this conſpiracy is greatly queſtioned by ſome of our hiſtorians, and flatly denied by others: and indeed, when we conſider, that Henry took no ſtep to diſcover, convict, and puniſh the delinquents, or to protect his perſon by any additional guards, we ſhall be inclined to regard the whole as a ſham-plot, contrived by ſome factious ſpirits, who are never happy, but in civil diſcord and diſſenſion.

Though Stephen, in conſequence of the agreement he had made with Henry, had given up all hopes of leaving the crown to his ſon; yet it muſt be obſerved to his honour, that he employed the ſhort interval of quiet, which ſucceeded that treaty, in redreſſing the grievances of the people, and reforming the

the laws of the nation. But in the midſt of theſe generous and noble endeavours, he was cut off by an illiac paſſion in the fiftieth year of his age, on the twenty-fifth of October 1154; and his body was interred by that of his queen Matilda, in the abbey of Feverſham, which he himſelf had founded.

We have already obſerved, that Stephen was a prince of great courage, fortitude and magnanimity. His valour appeared conſpicuous in the battle of Lincoln, where he was taken priſoner. His clemency was ſuch, that we do not meet with a ſingle inſtance of ſeverity in the whole courſe of his reign. His generoſity and greatneſs of ſoul cannot be denied by any one who conſiders, that he never endeavoured to puniſh thoſe who deſerted him in his diſtreſſes. In a word; he ſeems to have been poſſeſſed of many great and amiable qualities; and had he lived in happier times, he might poſſibly have now been reckoned one of the moſt illuſtrious monarch, that ever filled the Engliſh throne.

BRITISH
MUSEUM

HENRY II.

Engravid for Rider's History of England.

BOOK VII.

Containing an account of the Engliſh affairs from the Reſtoration of the SAXON *Line, to the Death of* RICHARD *the Second.*

HENRY II. A. D. 1154.

ALTHOUGH Stephen exerted his utmoſt endeavours, after the pacification of Wincheſter, to reſtore peace to England, the troubles of the nation were not entirely ſuppreſſed at the time of his death. The miſeries which he had juſt ſurmounted, rendered even an imaginary tranquility ſo agreeable, that every one ſtrove to outvie each other in demonſtrating their affection

for duke Henry. He therefore came to the crown with an indiſputable title, and with great reputation: while Henry was buſy in ſettling his affairs in Normandy, he received the news of Stephen's death. Thinking himſelf ſecure of the crown, he delayed ſetting out for England, not only till he had taken the town he was beſieging, but even till he had finally ſettled his affairs in Normandy. He arrived at Hoſtrham in England the ſeventh of December, and was received by the Engliſh with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy: immedately after his landing he went to Wincheſter, where he received the homage of his noblemen: then he proceeded with a large retinue to London, where he and his queen Eleanor were crowned on the nineteenth of December, 1154. After his coronation he retired to the abbey of Bermondſey, with an intention, as he pretended, to keep his Chriſtmas; but in reality, to lay the foundation of a ſolid and happy peace, imagining its tranquility to be as yet deceitful.

Being ſurrounded with able and faithful counſellors, three things were propoſed to bring about that deſirable end. The firſt was to baniſh thoſe mercenaries, eſpecially the Flemings, introduced by the late king, and by him rewarded with many conſiderable eſtates for the ſervices they had rendered

ed him. At the head of theſe was William d'Ypres, an able and ſucceſsful general. Henry prudently imagined that ſuch a body of men in the heart of his kingdom, and deeming themſelves a diſtinct nation from the Engliſh, might be dangerous to his government; eſpecially as the ſon of their great benefactor, Stephen, was now, except the king of the Scots, the firſt ſubject of England. Henry's ſecond ſtep, was the demolition of the remaining caſtles, which were ſtill held of lords, with a kind of independance of the royal authority. Henry's laſt conſideration, was an act of reſumption. Stephen's bounty was ſuch, to thoſe who had ſupported his title, as weakened that property which was neceſſary to ſecure the ballance of government. Having recourſe to ſubſidies, at that time very little known in England, had rather the appearance of oppreſſion, as the crown was poſſeſſed of demeſnes and revenues fully to anſwer the purpoſes of government.

To Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Henry was under the greateſt obligations; he therefore conſulted that prelate, about the ſettlement of his new miniſtry. Theobald recommended to him, for his firſt miniſter, Thomas of London, archdeacon of Canterbury, who had before been ſo ſerviceable to him at the court of Rome. This

perſon was accordingly made the king's chancellor: his office was to be ſuperior of the king's chancery and his chapels, to ſuperviſe all charters which were to be ſealed with the king's great ſeal, together with all writs and precepts, iſſued in the proceedings depending in the king's court, and the exchequer; and, in fine, he was conſtitutionally to be the firſt miniſter of the kingdom. With him, and other Engliſh noblemen, Henry held this great conſultation at Bermondſey. As to the firſt article, the determination was, that a proclamation ſhould be iſſued, requiring all foreigners, by a limited time, to leave the kingdom. As to the ſecond, it was thought neceſſary, for ſome time, to delay his intentions; leſt thoſe who held caſtles, ſhould enter into a concert with, and take under their protection, thoſe foreign mercenaries, and encourage them not to leave the kingdom. As to the third, it was a matter proper to be debated in the great council.

The royal edict for the withdrawing all foreigners, had its proper effect, as it was by them unſuſpected; and they accordingly withdrew by the appointed time, under the conduct of William d'Ypres. The ſucceſs of this meaſure reflected great reputation on the new government, and the king then proceeded on his great work. An edict being

ing publiſhed to that effect, all the diſqualified governours, or holders of caſtles in the ſouth of England, either reſigned or demoliſhed them; but as to thoſe built on the demeſne lands, being in the poſſeſſion of ſome of the great barons, it was thought proper for ſome time to connive at. Mean while the king, finding his own preſence as neceſſary for ſucceeding in the north and weſt, as it had been in the ſouth; he therefore ſet out, to reduce ſuch as proved refractory. William Peveral, who had poiſoned the earl of Cheſter, alarmed at the king's reſolution, fled into an abbey, where he was ſhaven, and profeſſed himſelf a monk; upon which the king ſeized Nottingham, and all his large poſſeſſions. Henry marched from thence to York, where he held a great court, to which he ſummoned William earl of Albemarle, and ſeveral other north-country gentlemen, who obeyed with ſome reluctance; having, by this time, almoſt forgot they had a ſuperior in England.

Henry now, however, made a ſtrict enquiry into what they had uſurped from the crown; and, among others, obliged the earl of Albemarle to reſign the caſtle of Scarborough, which being ſituated on the top of a rock, was equally ſtrong and convenient. Theſe vigorous meaſures, ſecured the peace of the north.

The noblemen in the ſouth, might eaſily perceive that they ſhould ſhortly meet with the ſame treatment; accordingly, before Henry returned from the north, they met together, and began to lay a plan for a general rebellion. The chief of theſe was Hugh de Mortimer, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities, who wrought ſo much upon the earl of Hereford, ſon to Milo, who had ſo generouſly eſpouſed the cauſe of the empreſs, that they agreed to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity: but Henry diſappointed their expectations, by ſummoning a great council at Wallingford, where the affair of reſumptions came under conſideration. The ſchemes of the conſpirators were entirely diſconcerted by this wiſe meaſure. A day being appointed, on which they were to exhibit their claims to ſeveral poſſeſſions, the earl of Hereford fled to Glouceſter, and Mortimer to Bridgenorth. The earl of Hereford holding the caſtles of Glouceſter and Hereford, and Mortimer thoſe of Bridgenorth, Colburgh, and Wigmore, all of them very ſtrong places, they made a ſort of an attempt to defend themſelves. But the earl of Hereford was ſo effectually wrought upon by Gilbert Folyott, his couſin and biſhop of Hereford, that he delivered up his caſtles to the king, and was taken into royal favour. Mortimer being now left alone, and having

all

all his three caſtles at once aſſaulted by three diviſions of Henry's forces, he was ſoon obliged to ſurrender them all, and throw himſelf at the king's mercy, who, unwilling to begin his reign with ſanguinary meaſures, pardoned him.

Notwithſtanding the earl of Surry was not in the leaſt acceſſary to thoſe commotions, Henry thought him too powerful a ſubject, and reſolved to make uſe of the preſent happy ſituation of his affairs to reduce him. This meaſure, it muſt be owned, was not quite agreeable to the principles of juſtice; but Henry, to give the better colour to his proceedings, went upon the equity and neceſſity of reſuming whatever had been laviſhly alienated from the crown by Stephen, who, he pretended, had no power to diſpoſe of its revenues: he therefore fell upon a diſtinction which anſwered his purpoſe. All that had fallen to the earl by marriage, or in the private right of his father, he left him in poſſeſſion of; but reſumed whatever the latter had, for his uſe, alienated from the crown of England. He therefore now ſaw himſelf ſtripped of the caſtles of Norwich and Peverel, and of every thing he enjoyed by the royal gift of Stephen.

In this great council Henry exacted an oath of fealty to his ſon William, an infant; and in caſe of his death, to Henry, a child born

born in March that ſame year. The biſhop of Wincheſter, a man of a pragmatical ſpirit, ſeeing the proſperous ſtate of Henry's affairs, and expecting to have his own exorbitant power circumſcribed, privately conveyed out of England all his immenſe riches, and ſoon after followed them. This gave Henry a plauſible pretext for ſeizing three of his chief caſtles, which he immediately did, without incurring the reſentment of the clergy.

About this time Henry, to take from his people all ſuſpicion, paſſed a charter of liberties, confirming the church in all the privileges and immunities granted to it by Henry the Firſt, and abrogating all the evil cuſtoms repealed by that illuſtrious monarch.

This charter, and ſeveral other acts of popularity, endeared Henry ſo much to the people of England, that he found himſelf in perfect tranquility. But his active mind began to plan new conqueſts, and his ambition pointed his eye to that of Ireland. A bull from pope Adrian was obtained for that purpoſe; but this expedition was poſtponed, ſome hiſtorians ſay, becauſe the empreſs Maude, who was now in England, diſapproved of it.

Henry did not, like ſome of his anceſtors, conſider England only as an acquiſition to Nor-

Normandy; but as the ſeat of his majeſty, and ſource of his power. The kings of France, at that time, poſſeſſed little more than the demeſne belonging to the family of Capet; but they were lords parmount of great fees. Henry poſſeſſed in France a greater revenue and territory than the kings of France themſelves. He knew, however, it would be dangerous to give that crown the leaſt handle againſt him, and therefore in January 1156, he went over to Normandy, where he did homage to Lewis, king of France, for his poſſeſſions there.

During Henry's ſtay at Roüen, he had an interview with Theodoric, earl of Flanders, and his wife. Their buſineſs was to make up matters between Henry and his brother Geoffry, who began to be again very uneaſy about the earldoms of Anjou, Touraine and Maine, left him, as we have before obſerved, by his father. He ſaid, that when his father made his will, his meaning was, that as ſoon as Henry ſhould be poſſeſſed of Normandy and England, it was his intention that he (Geoffry) ſhould enjoy the three laſt-mentioned earldoms.

All this was laid before Henry, who, to excuſe himſelf, alledged that the eſtates in diſpute could not be alienated from the eldeſt ſon; and that therefore the diſtinction was of itſelf void. The ready anſwer to this

was,

was, that he had ſworn to the performance of that will. Henry, however, found an evaſion for this, by applying to his friend the pope, who gave him a diſpenſation abſolving him from all his engagements.

Henry conſidering himſelf as abſolved from his oath, acted towards his brother without the leaſt reſerve: for Geoffry, ſoon after the arrival of the earl of Flanders and his wife, had a perſonal conference with Henry, who offered ſuch unſatisfactory terms, that he left him with a reſolution of attempting to make good his father's will.

Henry was ſenſible, that even his own power gave his brother great advantages; and that the Anjovins would rather chooſe to be governed by an earl of their own, than a prince who would ſeldom reſide among them, and who they knew would drain them to ſupport his own ambition. He therefore, as ſoon as he parted from his brother, went over to ſettle ſome affairs in England, and inſtantly returned to France. By this time the Anjovins had declared for his brother Geoffrey, and, for obvious reaſons, he was ſupported by the court of France. Henry, however, advanced into Anjou, before his brother could be ſupplied by the French to reſiſt him, and recovered the earldom. At length, Geoffrey was obliged to be contented with a penſion of one

one thouſand pounds Engliſh money, and two thouſand pounds Anjovin. Henry paſſed ſeveral months of this year in France, where he ſettled his new-recovered dominions, and about autumn returned to England.

Henry, on his return, met with unexpected employment. The Welch, unterrified by Henry's ſucceſs in other quarters, had made many bloody invaſions into the Engliſh territories. Cadwallader, mother to Owen, a Welch prince, having been about this time expelled Wales, applied to Henry for protection, and encouraged him to revenge the inſults of the Welch by invading their country. Upon this Henry marched at the head of a ſtrong army to Wincheſter, where he received intelligence, that Owen was come as far as Baſingwerk to meet him. Henry reſolved to attack the Welch prince, and advanced with the flower of his troops to give him battle. He was oppoſed by David and Conan, who ſurprized him in his march through a wood, called Coedeulo, where the Engliſh were pent up by eminencies poſſeſſed by the Welch, and great numbers of them were killed. They were ſo alarmed at this, that Henry de Eſſex, hereditary ſtandard-bearer to the king, dropt the royal ſtandard from his hand. This immediately occaſioned a rumour

rumour of the king's death, and the army was on the point of being totally routed; but Henry, who was in the rear, acted ſo vigorouſly, that his forces rallying, he brought them off with honour; but the loſs was very conſiderable. The chief of the Engliſh who were killed that day, were Euſtace Fitz John and Robert Curcy, two conſiderable barons. This action made him cautious how he proceeded againſt a people, who knew how to make the beſt advantage of their ſituation. Deſpairing therefore of forcing his way through paſſes, guarded by ſuch an army, he attempted to march between Owen and the ſea-ſhore into the heart of Wales; but that vigilant prince got a march upon him, and a ſecond time poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that the king was obliged to retreat to Rutland-Caſtle.

This diſappointment was probably unexpected by Henry; for he had ſent his fleet about under the command of one Madoc ap Meredyth, prince of Powiſland, that they might ſupply his army, as they coaſted along, with proviſions. Madoc, having waited ſome time in vain, reſolved to do ſomething of conſequence, and therefore landed in the iſle of Angleſea, which he attempted to plunder and ſubdue; but the inhabitants, uſed to ſuch viſits, were upon their

their guard, and killed all the invaders who ſet foot on land.

Theſe diſappointments diſpoſed Henry to a peace, which was accordingly concluded between him and Owen, upon condition, that the latter ſhould pay his accuſtomed tribute, and reſtore his brother to his eſtate. When the peace was concluded, Henry founded an houſe for knights templars at Baſingwerk, which, together with the caſcle of Rutland, he fortified to bridle the Welch, and then returned to England.

At this time Henry de Eſſex, for his puſillanimous conduct in the late engagement with the Welch, was accuſed of treaſon and cowardice by Robert de Montfort. The fact being notorious, Henry de Eſſex had no other defence than to take the benefit of a ſingle duel. Being vanquiſhed, and though his life became a forfeit to the law, yet the king ſpared it, ordering him to be ſhorn a monk, and to be ſhut up in a monaſtry, by which means his great eſtate fell to the crown.

Henry now demanded from Malcolm, king of the Scots, ſirnamed the Maiden, reſtitution of the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.

Malcolm, king of the Scots, at this time was a weak prince, and had little to recommend him, except that perſonal valour,

which was hereditary in the blood of Fergus. Though he was not much inferior to Henry himself in power within the island, yet he declined all disputes both in the cabinet and the field. He therefore, upon the first summons, made an appointment with Henry that they might compromise matters in an amicable manner. Their interview was at Chester, where Malcolm resigned to Henry the countries of Northumberland and Cumberland; but was suffered to retain the earldom of Huntingdon, upon his taking an oath, and doing homage to Henry, as his grandfather had done before to Henry I. and that with a salvo to all his royal dignities *.

Henry's happiness was now increased by the birth of a son at Oxford, who afterwards succeeded him by the name of Richard.

In the beginning of the year 1158, Henry set out on a journey through his kingdom; and when he arrived at Lincoln, suffered himself to be crowned in the suburbs of that city, in compliance with that superstition which Stephen had so manfully despised.

Geoffrey, the brother of Henry, was now chosen earl of Nantes, by the inhabitants of that city, on the following occasion: Hoel, the

* A. D. 1158.

the ſon of Conan the Groſs, duke of Brittany, was diſinherited and diſowned by his father. Birtha, ſiſter of Hoel, was married to Eudo, earl of Poictiers, and had a ſon named Conan. During the minority of this ſon, the grandfather, Conan the Groſs, died; whereupon Eudo, in right of his wife, and as guardian to the ſon, ſeized the duchy of Brittany, leaving Hoel, the diſinherited ſon, only the city of Nantes. Within four years Birtha died; upon which her huſband Eudo aſſumed the title of duke of Brittany, and took poſſeſſion of the duchy.

When Conan the Leſs, who was his ſon, grew up, he claimed both the eſtate and title; and not only expelled his father, but attempted to re-annex Nantes, which was ſtill poſſeſſed by Hoel, to his duchy. The inhabitants of that city, unwilling to come again under the dominion of the duke of Brittany, or to be longer governed by Hoel, who was a worthy prince, expelled the latter, and put themſelves under the protection of young Geoffrey Plantagenet, whom they declared to be their Lord.

This revolution made Geoffrey ſome ſmall amends for his brother's ſeverity. Soon after this Geoffrey died; whereupon Conan, duke of Brittany, claimed and ſeized the city of Nantes. The king ſequeſtered the earldom of Richmond, belonging to the

duke of Brittany, and reclaimed Nantes as heir to his brother Geoffrey.

Henry, at the ſame time, went over to Normandy to preſerve his right, and to negotiate another affair of the greateſt importance, with Lewis, king of France, a very ſimple prince. Henry's eldeſt ſon, and Margaret, daughter to the king of France, were yet infants; the former five years of age, and the latter about as many months. But political reaſons prompted Henry to go to Paris, and to propoſe a marriage between his ſon and the princeſs of France. Lewis agreed to this abſurd contract; and through the artful management of Henry's miniſter, Thomas Becket, Lewis was weak enough to give Henry a commiſſion for entering Brittany, and taking it into his own poſſeſſion.

Henry after this had the princeſs Margaret delivered into his hands, and returned to Normandy to proſecute his war with the duke of Brittany; the city of Nantes fell into his hands; but the jealouſy of the French court prevented him from taking advantage of the inteſtine diviſions of Brittany, to puſh his conqueſts there. He might, however, have ſurmounted all difficulties, but Conan entered into a negotiation with him which promiſed to ſecure to Henry's family the quiet poſſeſſion of all Brittany:

Brittany: a marriage was reſolved upon between Conſtance, the daughter and heireſs of Conan, and Geoffrey, third ſon to Henry; upon Conan's death, which was five years after, this marriage took place, and Geoffrey became duke of Normandy.

Before Henry left France, Lewis made a pilgrimage to St. Michael's mount in Normandy. The pilgrimage being over, he was nobly received and entertained by Henry. Lewis then departed, highly pleaſed with the politeneſs, and ſupprized at the magnificence of his brother of England.

Henry, not yet ſatisfied with the addition of Nantes, the large dominions he formerly poſſeſſed, and the proſpect of his ſon's ſucceeding to Brittany, reſolved to revive his queen's title to the county of Thouloufe *. In order to give the reader a more diſtinct notion of Eleanor's right to that county, it may not be amiſs to explain the manner in which it was derived.

William IV. count of Thouloufe, cotemporary with William the conquerour, had but one daughter, called Philippa, married to William, count of Poictiers, grandfather to Eleanor. In conſequence of this marriage, the county of Thouloufe was, one day, to fall to the houſe of Poictiers,

* A. D. 1159.

which was already in poſſeſſion of the county of Guienne. But William, deſirous of preſerving his eſtate in his own family, ſold it to Raymond de St. Giles, his younger brother. This ſale, whether real or pretended, would have been but a weak means to deprive Philippa of her father's inheritance, had not ſeveral circumſtances concurred to favour Raymond, who continued in poſſeſſion of Thouloufe after his brother's death. The earl of Poictiers had mortgaged his revenues for a number of years, in order to equip himſelf for a cruſade to Paleſtine, where, by his expenſive manner of living, and the loſs of his equipage, he was reduced to the greateſt poverty and diſtreſs. On his return home, Raymond de St. Giles, taking the advantage of his neceſſitous circumſtances, offered him a conſiderable ſum of money, if he would relinquiſh his pretenſions to the county of Thouloufe; an offer which the earl of Poictiers readily accepted. In virtue of this agreement, Raymond kept poſſeſſion of the county, and his heirs continued to enjoy it without any diſturbance from the earl of Poictiers, or his ſon William IX. After the death of this laſt nobleman, Lewis the young, who married his only daughter and heir, revived the claim of the houſe of Poictiers to the county of Thouloufe,

Thoulouſe. He maintained that the ſale made by William to Raymond was forged; that, if it was real, Raymond muſt have impoſed upon the ſimplicity of William, as he had purchaſed the county at ſuch a low rate; and that, in any event, the whole of the ſtipulated ſum had never been paid. He, therefore, inſiſted that the bargain was null and void; and, of conſequence, that Eleanor ought to recover the county to which her grandmother had ſo juſt a title, upon refunding to the count of Thoulouſe the money he had paid. Raymond V. the then count of Thoulouſe, in vain pleaded preſcription. That was but a weak defence againſt a powerful prince, who was able to make good his claim by force of arms. Nevertheleſs, after a long negotiation, the matter was compromiſed by a marriage between Raymond and Conſtance, ſiſter of Lewis, and widow of Euſtace, ſon of king Stephen. In conſequence of this marriage, Lewis reſigned his pretenſions to Thoulouſe, and as loug as he lived with Eleanor, Raymond continued in the quiet poſſeſſion of the county.

But now that Eleaeor was married to Henry, that enterpriſing prince reſolved to aſſert his queen's title to Thoulouſe. It was to no purpoſe that Raymond pleaded ſale and preſcription. Theſe pretences, which would

would not have been regarded by Lewis, had it not been for the marriage of his ſiſter with Raymond, were entirely diſregarded by Henry, who did not lie under the ſame reſtraints, and who therefore determined to ſupport his wife's right with all the power, which as king of England, duke of Normandy, and count of Anjou, he poſſeſſed.

With this view, he impoſed a tax on all the noble fiefs in Normandy and his other foreign dominions, allowing his tenants to commute their perſonal ſervice for a certain ſum, known by the name of Scutage; and with this money he enliſted a ſtrong body of mercenary ſoldiers. He then came over to England, and paſſed the Eaſter holidays at Worceſter, where he and the queen approaching the offertory, laid their crowns upon the high altar, vowing never to wear them more; and this put an end to the ſolemn coronations, which had hitherto been celebrated on the great feſtivals.

Henry having levied from his Engliſh ſubjects ſuch a tax as he had eſtabliſhed abroad, returned to the Continent, attended by Malcolm, king of Scotland, whom he knighted on the occaſion, William, count of Boulogne, and a great number of Engliſh noblemen who ſerved as volunteers at their own expence. He was joined on his

arrival

arrival by the troops of William, lord of Montpelier, and Trincavel, viſcount of Bezieres and Niſmes. Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelona, ſent him a body of forces, in conſequence of a treaty of marriage between the count's daughter, and Richard, the king's ſecond ſon, by which the young couple ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Guienne, as ſoon as they ſhould be of age to conſummate the marriage.

Thus reinforced, he attacked Cahors, the capital of Quercy, which he ſoon reduced; and invading the county of Thouloufe, immediately inveſted the city.

Lewis the Young, who had long beheld the growing power of Henry with a jealous eye, reſolved to oppoſe his further progreſs. With this view he found means to throw himſelf into the city with a conſiderable body of troops; and the garriſon thus ſtrengthened made ſuch a vigorous defence, that Henry was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Henry incenſed at this act of hoſtility from the French king, with whom he had lately contracted ſuch an intimate alliance, invaded the Beauvoiſis, where he committed great ravages and devaſtations. At the ſame time Simon de Montfort, count of Evreux, ſurrendered his ſtrong caſtles in the neighbourhood of Paris, by which all communication was cut off between Lewis and his capital.

capital. This reduced him to ſuch ſtraits and difficulties, that he was obliged to agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, and ſoon after to a peace, by which the former treaty was ratified and confirmed. Thus Henry ſtill preſerved his claim to the county of Thouloufe, and tranſmitted it to his ſucceſſor, who, however, was prevailed upon to reſign it.

By the treaty of Paris, Henry's eldeſt ſon was affianced to Margaret, daughter of the French king. Margaret was to have for her portion the city of Giſors, with part of the Vexin Norman, which were to remain in the hands of the knights templars, till the celebration of the marriage. Agreeable to this treaty, chancellor Becket was ſent to Paris, with a grand retinue, to demand the young princeſs, who was to be educated in England, till ſhe ſhould become marriageable.

But Henry, who had already graſped her dowry in imagination, could not wait the arrival of that diſtant period. The princeſs was no ſooner brought to England, than he ordered the huptials to be ſolemnized, tho' the bridegroom was but ſeven, and the bride but three years of age. The knights templars imagining that Henry had fully performed his part of the treaty, put him in poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of Giſors, and the other places aſſigned as Margaret's portion.*

Lewis, provoked at this abrupt manner of proceeding, invaded the Vexin Normand with a conſiderable army; while the count de Blois, at the head of another ſtrong body of forces, penetrated into Normandy on the ſide of Chateaudun: but Henry, conſcious of the ſtep he had taken, and expecting ſuch a viſit, had provided all the caſtles with ſuch ſtore of ammunition, that no place of conſequence was reduced. As the enemy, however, continued to ravage the open country, Henry aſſembled his forces, and advanced againſt them; but neither king chuſing to hazard an engagement, they agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, which ſoon terminated in a treaty of peace. By this accommodation, Giſors, Neaffle, Neufchatel, and the other places allotted to Margaret for her dowry, were committed to the hands of Totes de St. Omer, and Robert de Peron, knights templars, till the marriage between Margaret and young Henry ſhould be conſummated; at which time, they were to be delivered to the king of England.

The Chriſtian world was, at this time, greatly diſturbed by the violent conteſts between Alexander and Victor, about the papal chair, which had lately become vacant by the

* A D. 1160.

the death of pope Adrian. The cauſes of theſe competitors, were now tried in two different aſſemblies held on purpoſe, and decided in favour of Alexander.

Henry, having now brought his wars to a happy concluſion, aſſembled a council of his prelates and nobility, to concert meaſures for reforming ſome abuſes which had crept into the ſtate of his Norman affairs; and, ſoon after, another aſſembly was held at Liſlebonne, where the barons took a proviſional oath of allegiance to prince Henry, as heir apparent to the duchy.

In the ſpring of 1162, this young prince was brought over to England by the chancellor Becket, in order to receive the like homage from the prelates, and nobility, of this country; while the king, tarrying ſome time longer abroad to ſettle the affairs of Normandy, had an opportunity of paying his reſpects to pope Alexander, at Clermont in Auvergne, where his holineſs had lately come to reſide. Alexander had an interview with the kings of France and England, at Toucy on the Loire; and theſe two monarchs, according to the ſuperſtitious cuſtom of the times, held the pontiff's ſtirrup as he mounted, and led his horſe by the bridle.

Henry having thus effected a thorough reconciliation with the French king, and ſettled

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the affairs of Normandy, repaired with his queen to Barfleur, where he took ſhipping, and, after a quick paſſage, arrived ſafely in England. The princes of South and North Wales repaired to court, and did homage to the king and his ſon Henry; and the ſame oath was taken by Malcolm, king of Scotland, who had attended Henry in his late expedition, and had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery and conduct. The Welch, who, during the king's abſence, had ſurprized the earl of Glouceſter and his counteſs, and made ſeveral incurſions into the Engliſh territories, were now obliged to ſurrender their caſtles, and to give hoſtages for their good behaviour.*

Henry employed this ſeaſon of peace, in regulating his finances, and ſettling the proportion of taxes to be levied on his ſubjects; for which purpoſe he appointed commiſſioners to examine and aſcertain the rights of the crown, and the ſervices due from all the tenants; and this regulation is probably the ſame which is ſtill preſerved on record, in the red book of the exchequer.

Henry had now attained the ſummit of human happineſs. He had lately made a

* A. D. 1162.

peace with France, which he had great reaſon to think would be of long continuance. The Welch remained quiet within their own territories. The king of Scotland had ſhewn his attachment to Henry's perſon and government, by his behaviour in the late expedition, and had manifeſted his inclination to live in peace, by ſurrendering all the places of ſtrength he had held in England.

But while Henry was flattering himſelf with the agreeable hopes of paſſing the reſt of his days in peace and tranquillity, his happineſs was ſuddenly deſtroyed by the pride and obſtinacy of an inſolent prelate.

Thomas Becket was the ſon of a ctizen of London, by a Syrian woman *, and was bred to the law †. He no ſooner began to plead, than he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch an extraordinary manner, that he was taken from the bar, and appointed archdeacon of Canterbury. In the beginning of this reign, he had ſome buſineſs to tranſact at court, which

* Her name was Matildis, ſaid to be the daughter of a Saracen, who had taken Becket's father priſoner, when he went to Paleſtine. *Brompt.*

† His father's name was Gilbert Becket. He lived on the ſpot where St. Thomas's hoſpital now ſtands. *Ibid.*

which gave him an opportunity of making himſelf known to the king. Henry, than whom no man was ever more ſagacious in diſcovering merit, nor more generous in rewarding it, immediately advanced him to the dignity of high chancellor; in the diſcharge of which office, Becket behaved with the moſt intolerable pride and arrrogance. He was ſo fond of pageantry and ſhow, that, in the late war in Thoulouſe, where he attended the king, he maintained, at his own expence, no leſs than ſeven hundred knights, and twelve hundred private men. The king, however, was ſo well ſatisfied with Becket's conduct as chancellor, that he recommended him to the ſee of Canterbury, lately become vacant by the death of the laſt incumbent.

The monks of St. Auguſtin, in whoſe hands the right of election was lodged, had no great inclination for ſuch a primate, whom they conſidered as better qualified for a civil than an eccleſiaſtical office; but Henry's recommendation was ſo warm and urgent, that Becket was actually elected and conſecrated, after the ſee had been kept vacant for a twelvemonth.

He was no ſooner fixed in this high ſtation, than he reſigned the great ſeal; and, altering his manner of living, which had

formerly been very grand and expenſive, he aſſumed the monkiſh habit, and practiſed all the ſeverities of church-diſcipline, hopeing, by that means, to render his perſon more venerable and reſpected, and to acquire greater influence with the people.

Henry had formed a deſign, at his acceſſion to the throne, to reduce the exorbitant power of the clergy, which, during the three former reigns, had been greatly increaſed, to the prejudice of the royal authority. From the execution, however, of this laudable purpoſe, he had been hitherto directed by cares of another nature.

But now, that all his wars were happily finiſhed, and the kingdom enjoyed an undiſturbed tranquillity, he reſolved to employ this ſeaſon of peace in proſecuting his former ſcheme; in which he knew it would be difficult to ſucceed, without the concurrence of the primate. With this view it was, that he had recommended Becket to the archiepiſcopal ſee, hoping that a man, whom, by his ſole countenance and favour, he had raiſed to ſuch an exalted ſtation, would be ready to aſſiſt him in every juſt undertaking. In theſe hopes, however, he was greatly diſappointed. Becket being now placed, as he imagined, beyond the reach of royal authority, reſolved to ſupport his imaginary

imaginary independence, and to maintain the church in all her privileges and immunities.

One of these immunities was, that no clergyman should be tried in a civil court, let his crime be ever so atrocious; in consequence of which exemption, every species of wickedness was practised, with wantonness and impunity. It appeared, from authentic documents, that, since Henry's accession to the throne, upwards of a hundred murders had been perpetrated by ecclesiastical ruffians, not one of whom had even suffered the slight punishment of degradation. Soon after Becket's elevation to the primacy, a clergyman of the diocese of Sarum happened to commit a murder: the matter was brought before the archbishop's court, where it was decreed that the murderer should suffer deprivation, and be confined for life to a monastery. The king being informed of this sentence, sent for the primate, and warmly expostulated with him, for inflicting so gentle a punishment upon a crime of such an heinous nature.

Becket alledged the immunities of the church, and roundly asserted that a clergyman ought not to be put to death for any crime whatever. To this strange assertion, Henry replied, that as he was appointed by

God to adminiſter juſtice to all his ſubjects, he would take care for the future, that if clerks guilty of murder, or other capital crimes, were not condignly puniſhed by the decrees of the clergy, they ſhould be tried in the civil courts. Becket declared, that he would never conſent to ſuch a rude encroachment on the privileges of the church, but would oppoſe it with all the power and influence which, as primate of England, he poſſeſſed. This inſolent declaration provoked the king to ſuch a degree, that he left the primate in a violent paſſion.

But Becket, who ſeemed to take a pleaſure in mortifying his majeſty, embraced this unſeaſonable occaſion to upbraid the king with having unjuſtly deprived him of the caſtle of Rocheſter, which he now redemanded, together with thoſe of Saltwood and Hethe.

To theſe cauſes of diſguſt, it was not long before he added two others. He ſummoned the earl of Clare to do him homage for the caſtle of Tunbridge, which he pretended to be a fief of his ſee, without deigning to acquaint the king with his pretenſions. But the earl told him, he held the caſtle of the king, and would do homage to none but his majeſty. Baffled in this attempt, he endeavoured to extend his juriſdiction, by col-

lating

lating one Lawrence, a prieſt, to the rectory of Ainesford, without regarding the patron's right of preſentation. But the patron, who was a baron of the realm, and a man of ſpirit, was not to be deprived of his right by ſuch an inſolent intruſion, and accordingly ejected Lawrence from the benefice.

Becket conſidering this as an unpardonable offence, excommunicated the patron, though he held it of the king, and was entitled to the benefit of an act paſſed in the reign of the conqueror, importing, that no military tenant of the crown ſhould be excommunicated, without the conſent of the king.

Henry plainly perceived that the primate was haſtening, by long and haſty ſtrides, to raiſe the eccleſiaſtical power on the ruins of the civil; and that, if a timely remedy was not applied, the conſtitution would be entirely altered. He, therefore, reſolved to prevent the impending danger, by fixing the preciſe limits between the authority of the church and ſtate. With this view, he aſſembled a general council of the prelates and nobility, in which the famous conſtitutions of Clarendon, which had never been committed to writing, were enacted into laws *. Theſe imported, that all ſuits relating

* A. D. 1164.

lating to preſentations, ſhould be determined in the king's court: that the churches of the king's fee ſhould not be alienated without his conſent: that the king's court ſhould take cognizance of crimes committed by clergymen, without encroaching upon the eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions; but a clerk convicted, or pleading guilty, ſhould forfeit his privilege, and the protection of the church: that no biſhop or clergyman ſhould leave the realm without the king's permiſſion; nor obtain that permiſſion, without giving ſecurity for abſtaining from any attempt to the prejudice of the king or kingdom: that perſons under an interdict ſhould not be obliged to make oath, or give ſecurity for remaining in the places of their reſidence; but only comply with the judgment of the church, in order to obtain abſolution: that no layman ſhould be accuſed in the eccleſiaſtical court, but by proper and reputable evidence, in preſence of the biſhop; and if the offender ſhould be ſuch as nobody would venture to accuſe him, the ſheriff ſhould, at the biſhop's inſtance, oblige twelve reputable men of the neighbourhood, to declare upon oath, before the biſhop, the truth of the matter, to the beſt of their knowledge: that no military tenant, or officer of the crown, ſhould be excom-

excommunicated, or his lands laid under an interdict, without the consent of the king; or, in his absence, of his justiciary, whose business it was to take cognizance of the crime, so far as it belonged to the king's court, or remit it to the ecclesiastical court, if a cause that belonged to that jurisdiction: that appeals in ecclesiastical causes should be made from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop, and lastly to the king, to be determined by his precept in the court of the archbishop; but to proceed no further without his majesty's consent: that all suits between laymen and ecclesiastics about tenures, should be tried before the king's justiciary, by the verdict of twelve reputable men; and if the tenure should be found frank-almoine, the suit should be remitted to the ecclesiastical court; but if a lay-fee, determined in the king's court, unless both parties held of the same lord, whether spiritual or temporal, in which case the suit should be tried in his court; but the person seized of the tenement in question should not, on account of such verdict, be disseized, until the determination of the suit: that any tenant of the king's domains, summoned by the archdeacon or bishop, to answer for a misdemeanour that should fall under their cognizance,

zance, might, for contempt of ſuch ſummons, be interdicted from divine ſervice, but not excommunicated until he ſhould be reſigned to that ſentence by the king's officer, in default of making proper ſatisfaction: that all archbiſhops, prelates, and clergymen, whoſe dignities and benefices depended upon the crown in capite, ſhould hold their poſſeſſions as baronies; appear before the king's juſtices and miniſters, to anſwer the duties of their tenure; obſerve and perform all the royal cuſtoms, rights, and ſervices; and, like other barons, act as judges in the king's court, until ſentence ſhould begin to be pronounced for the loſs of life or limb, when they ſhould be at liberty to withdraw: that the king ſhould enter into poſſeſſion of all the vacant ſees, abbeys, and priories of royal patronage and foundation; and that, in filling up theſe vacancies, the chapter or convent ſhould be aſſembled, and the election be made in the chapel-royal, with the king's conſent; and the perſon elected ſhould, before his conſecration, do homage and ſwear fealty to the king, as his liege lord of life, limb, and terrene honour, ſaving his order: that any nobleman, oppoſing or rejecting the legal deciſions of the eccleſiaſtcal court, ſhould be compelled to ſubmit by the king's authority;

thority; and any perſon refuſing to ſtand to the award of the king's court, ſhould be proſecuted by the eccleſiaſtical authority, until the king's ward ſhould receive ſatisfaction: that goods and chattels forfeited to the king, ſhould belong to his majeſty, wherever found, within or without the precincts of the church: that the king's court ſhould try all ſuits for debts due upon oath, ſolemn promiſe, or otherwiſe contracted; and that the ſons of villains, or copy-holders, ſhould not be ordained, without the conſent of the lord of the manor in which they were born.

Notwithſtanding the high claims of ſome modern churchmen, it is certain that thoſe articles were conſidered by the aſſembly as containing the genuine ſenſe of the prelates and nobility of England, touching the ſubordination of the eccleſiaſtical to the civil power. For when the members of the council were required to agree to the obſervation of theſe laws, they readily complied; but when, for the greater ſecurity, they were deſired to append their ſeals to them, Becket was the only member who refuſed. Many endeavours were uſed to bend the obſtinacy of this haughty, and inſolent prelate. The earls of Cornwall and Leiceſter waited on him in the king's name, and

and earneſtly entreated him to follow the example of the other members in appending his ſeal to the conſtitutions of Clarendon; but he reſiſted all their importunities, until he was aſſailed by Robert de Melun, his domeſtic chaplain, and Philip, abbot of Eleemoſina, who was ſent over by the pope in quality of legate a latere, to compromiſe the differences between the king and the primate. Theſe prelates repreſented to him the danger which might accrue to the church from the reſentment of Henry, in ſuch ſtrong colours, and urged the deſire of the pope, who exhorted him to pacific meaſures, with ſo much importunity, that they, at laſt, prevailed upon him to ſubſcribe the articles.

* Henry having obtained from the clergy this recognition of his juſt rights, he tranſmitted them to France for the approbation of the pope; but when they came to be examined at his court, it was judged that they tended to a total abrogation of the independance of the papal power in England. The pope therefore diſallowed of the articles and condemned them. Becket, though in reality pleaſed at this, affected to inflict great auſterity on himſelf, as a puniſhment for his criminal facility in complying with the will of the king.

The

* A. D. 1164.

The pope, however, unwilling to push matters to extremity, sent over the archbishop of Roan with a commission to compromise the differences between the king and the archbishop. Henry obstinately refused to admit of any mediation, unless the confirmation of the constitutions of Clarendon was made a preliminary; to effect which he sent over one of his domestic chaplains to solicit a legantine power from the pope in favour of Roger, archbishop of York, a prelate entirely at his devotion. This the pope refused; but made the king himself the compliment of an offer of such legatine power, provided it was not exercised to the prejudice of the archbishop of Canterbury.

Henry was too sensible a prince to be caught with such a bait, and therefore declined the honour that was offered him; pretending, at the same time, that he was resolved to proceed to the last extremities with the archbishop. Becket was so alarmed at this, that he attempted to make his escape over to France; but being obliged to put back, he came again to Henry at Woodstock, with an intention to appease his anger. But the king was now so thoroughly exasperated, that he refused to see him.

About the beginning of October, 1164, Henry called a new parliament at Northampton; where it was resolved to carry the articles of Clarendon into execution, tho' they had not had the pope's confirmation: four impeachments were then exhibited by the king againſt the archbiſhop.

The firſt was founded upon the ſecond article of the conſtitutions of Clarendon; which having received the ſanction of parliament, had now the force of a law. The archbiſhop was charged with contumacy for not appearing in the king's court, upon a writ brought by one John a Mareſhal of the Exchequer, againſt the archbiſhop, for removing a cauſe, wherein the ſaid John thought himſelf aggrieved by the archbiſhop, from his court into that of the king's. The fact being proved, the king demanded judgment upon the archbiſhop's bond of liege homage, and his oath of fidelity. The aſſembly was ſo exaſperated againſt the archbiſhop, that all he had to plead was over-ruled, and his effects were declared to be at the king's mercy. Nothing now remained but to pronounce ſentence, but concerning this ſome difficulty aroſe. In the debate, it was inſiſted by the temporal peers, that it would be proper for a biſhop to pronounce judgment,

ment, becauſe they were the fellow-biſhops and the fellow-prieſts of the delinquent. The biſhops ſtrove to excuſe themſelves by ſaying that the ſentonce was ſecular and not eccleſiaſtical; that they ſat there as barons, not as biſhops, and that it ill became them to paſs ſentence on their own archbiſhop. This remonſtrance having ſome weight with the barons, the king interpoſed, and commanded the biſhop of Winchester to pronounce ſentence.

This judgment being a record of the king's court, eſtabliſhed a ſtrong precedent for Henry, and the haughty prelate to avoid a greater evil threw himſelf at the king's mercy; whereupon all the biſhops, except Gilbert, biſhop of London, became his ſureties.

The ſecond charge exhibited againſt the archbiſhop, was his not accounting for three hundred pounds, which he had received as Conſtable of Eye in Suffolk, and of Berkhamſtead in Hampſhire. The archbiſhop pretended that he had expended more than that ſum for the crown, without charging it in his accounts. He, however, gave ſecurity for the repayment of the money.

The next charge was for five hundred marks which he had borrowed when the army was before Thouloufe; and another five hundred that had been lent him, upon

the king's ſecurity, by a Jew. The biſhop pleaded that he was unprepared for a defence, as he had not been cited to anſwer upon theſe charges; and declared that the money in queſtion was a free preſent. He was, however, obliged to give ſecurity for the payment of the money.

The fourth charge exhibited againſt the archbiſhop, was that he had not accounted for the profits of the archbiſhopric of York, and other biſhoprics, abbeys, and church-livings, which, during his chancellorſhip, he had received in the time of their vacancies. This laſt was an intereſting point to the clergy, but they had now proceeded too far to recede. They were, however, greatly alarmed at this charge, which gave the archbiſhop of Canterbury great advantages. The archbiſhop ſaid, that by and at his election, he was diſcharged of thoſe accounts; and that, as the charge againſt him was unprecedented, he ſhould be glad to have the opinion of his ſuffragans, and the other clergy before he gave in his anſwer. This being admitted the archbiſhop retired to his chamber.

He now found himſelf deſerted and abandoned by all the numerous train of ſycophants, and ſat all night in cloſe conſultation with his ſuffragans. The archbiſhop had

had the mortification to find that the greater part of them agreed in adviſing him to yield to the ſtream, and ſubmit to the king. He was ſo ſenſibly affected at this, that the next day he became ill of an iliac paſſion. The king, however, ſent ſome of the temporal nobility peremptorily to know whether he would give ſecurity to render an account of what he had received by the vacancies of churches during the time of his being lord chancellor, and to abide by the determination of the king's court. The archbiſhop returned for anſwer, that if his health permitted he would the next day attend the king and his court.

He went the next day accordingly; but, affecting to be afraid of loſing his life, he took his croſs, which as legate was uſually carried before him, into his own hand, and thus armed went into court. The biſhops, upon this ſhew of reſolution, and knowing the greatneſs of his ſpirit, were afraid of ſome ſudden cataſtrophe, and therefore endeavoured to wreſt it by force from his hand; but the archbiſhop proving too ſtrong for them, he was told by the archbiſhop of York, that notwithſtanding the croſs was in his hand, he would find that the king carried much ſharper weapons. Then the archbiſhop appealed to the pope

from the ſentence which had been paſſed againſt him for contumacy, and, by his own authority, prohibited the biſhops from judging him in any thing he had done before he was archbiſhop. The biſhops, who were in reality not diſpleaſed at this prohibition, affected alſo to appeal to the pope againſt the archbiſhop; which appeal he promiſed to anſwer. All this time the archbiſhop was not admitted into the preſence of the king, who was ſitting in the court with his nobility. The king, however, held a conference with the archbiſhop; firſt, by the mediation of the clergy, and afterwards of the temporal nobility *.

The clergy being extricated from this great difficulty, the king ſent ſome of the nobility to expoſtulate with the archbiſhop, and to inſiſt upon the obligations to which he was bound by the conſtitutions of Clarendon. The archbiſhop replied that there

* In this affair Henry ſeems to have been outwitted by the biſhops; for he was ſo far impoſed upon by their pretended zeal againſt the archbiſhop, and their counter-appeal to the pope, that he diſpenſed with their ſitting as judges; notwithſtanding the expreſs ſtipulation of the eleventh eccleſiaſtical article of Clarendon, by which biſhops, as well as other barons, ought to be preſent at judicial proceedings in the king's court, excepting in caſes of blood.

there was nothing done at Clarendon, either by them or himſelf, in which their eccleſiaſtical honour was not preſerved. It was true, ſaid he, they had promiſed in good faith to obſerve theſe decrees; yet by theſe general words, the dignities of their churches, which they held by the pontifical or canon law, were ſafe: for whatſoever was in oppoſition to the true faith of the church, could not according to law be obſerved. That a Chriſtian king had not any prerogative, by the exerciſe of which the liberties of the church, which he had ſworn to maintain, might receive any prejudice. He added, that thoſe which they called Royal Prerogatives, being ſent to the pope to be confirmed, were brought back rather diſapproved, for that very few of them were allowed by him; and that he had thereby ſhewn them what they ought to do in being ready to receive the decrees of the Roman church, and to refuſe whatever ſhe refuſed. He obſerved, however, that if they had failed in any thing at Clarendon, if they had promiſed any unjuſt things there, they knew that ſuch unlawful ſtipulations did not oblige.

The king was ſo provoked at this evaſion, that he immediately demanded judgment upon the archbiſhop; which was, that he deſerved

deſerved to be ſeized and committed to priſon. The earls of Cornwall and Leiceſter went out to pronounce his ſentence; but the archbiſhop diſclaimed their authority, and renewed his appeal.

Diſconcerted by the haughty manner of the archbiſhop, the lords, before they had read the ſentence, returned to the inner chamber, where the king and counſel ſat, for freſh inſtructions. Becket embraced this opportunity, and haſtily left the room; and walking through the midſt of his attendants, unmoved by repeated reproaches, he came to the outer gate of the caſtle, and returned to the monaſtery of St. Andrew, where he lodged, attended by his chaplain, one Herbert, and William Fitz Stevens, the author of the hiſtory of his life *.

Henry,

* Were not this tranſaction ſo circumſtantially related by authours who were on the ſpot, it would be almoſt incredible that a ſubject ſhould have the boldneſs to wreſt himſelf out of the hands of juſtice. But the magic of ſacred authority blunted the ſword, and overſet the balance of juſtice. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that Henry's conduct is far from being blameleſs. The original ſuit againſt the biſhop was frivolous and vexatious; and ſuppoſing the charge to be proved, the puniſhment was too heavy for the crime; for, happening in rent, it ought to have been regulated by the cuſtom of that country, which gave no more than forty ſhillings for ſuch offence. The material charge therefore againſt this prelate, was his endea-

Henry, though armed with power, and fired with reſentment, did not chooſe to purſue the archbiſhop into his retreat. He perhaps began to think that he had gone too far, and that he might probably draw too formidable inconveniencies on his hands, variance with the church and unpopularity with the commons; the former ever ſupported by intereſt, and the latter ever ſuſceptible of diſtreſs. The archbiſhop was early ſenſible of this, and the king too late; for Henry privately employed ſeveral agents to compromiſe matters with the archbiſhop, which he haughtily rejected. At laſt, however, the continuance of Becket at Northampton daily increaſing his popularity, it was privately intimated to him, that a deſign was laid againſt his life. This had the deſired effect; for the archbiſhop immediately eſcaped in diſguiſe to Lincoln, and afterwards to Canterbury.

Henry, informed of this, very politically ordered proclamation inſtantly to be made, that no perſon ſhould injure or moleſt the archbiſhop or his retinue: he alſo appointed a ſplendid embaſſy to lay the whole affair before the pope, and the biſhop's revenues remained unſequeſtered.

Such

endeavouring to withdraw himſelf from the civil power; a meaſure which pointed directly at the overthrow of England's conſtitution and monarchy.

Such was the effect which this oppoſition already had upon the government of a prince poſſeſſed of more power than ever a king of England had, and as arbitary in his inclinations. But he was ſenſible that he had ſtrained, if not violated the laws; and he foreſaw, from the temper of his parliament, intimidated by his growing prerogative, that their ſupport would probably fail him, ſhould he extend it to greater lengths.

About this time, Rees, prince of Wales, again rebelled, and the king demanded the aid of his parliament to reduce him.

Henry, however, was very ſolicitous to prevent the eſcape of Becket beyond ſea; but the biſhop eluded all his vigilance, and after painful concealments, and laborious journeys, he arrived at St. Omers, which lay within the earldom of Flanders.

The earl of Flanders was an important ally to Henry; and the conveniency of tranſporting forces from the Flemiſh ports into England, had invited the latter to make a treaty with the earl, for furniſhing him with three thouſand horſe, or a thouſand knights, each knight mounting two horſemen beſides himſelf, upon any difference between the king and his barons. It was by the ſame convention provided, that Hen-

ry

ry ſhould inveſt the ſaid earl in a fee of five hundred marks a year; four hundred to be paid to himſelf, and one hundred to his counteſs *.

This convention was alſo a renewal of a like treaty for fifteen hundred horſe to be furniſhed by the ſame earl to Henry I. and afterwards for three thouſand. Henry, beſides this, had aſſiſted the brother of the earl of Flanders in marrying the daughter of Stephen, who was a profeſſed religious, by which means that nobleman became, in her right, earl of Bulloign.

The archbiſhop, at a court which had ſuch ſtrong connections with Henry, could not expect to meet with any protection; he therefore fled to France. Thither Henry followed him by his ambaſſadors, the earl of Arundel and the biſhop of London, who ſolicited the king of France not to receive the archbiſhop: Henry, however, was too formidable not only to that prince, but alſo to the pope; ſo that they were glad of ſo favourable an opportunity to oppoſe him. Both of them eſpouſed the cauſe of the archbiſhop; and the two embaſſadors at the court of France were ordered to repair to the pope at Sens, and to join their inſtances to thoſe made by the other deputies, who were

* It is probable, that this was paid out of Henry's Norman eſtates.

were already nominated for negociating with the pope. Theſe were Robert, archbiſhop of York; Henry, biſhop of Cheſter; Bartholomew, biſhop of Exeter; with Wido, Rufus, Richard, Ivelcheſter, and John of Oxford, clerks; and Hugh de Gondeville, Bernard of St. Wallery, and Henry Fitzgerald, laymen.

Theſe deputies had a ſolemn audience of the pope, who treated thoſe who were clergymen with the greateſt contempt; but at the requeſt of the earl of Arundel, a man of ſenſe and moderation, he offered to ſend legates into England, for deciding the differences between the king and the archbiſhop. But the eccleſiaſtical deputies requiring that thoſe legates ſhould have a power of judging the matter without appeal, the pope evaded their requeſt, by ſaying, that he would not give his glory to another; and the ambaſſadors having their time limited, were obliged to return to England before the archbiſhop had time to repair to Sens, to anſwer for himſelf.

This prelate, after leaving St. Omers, came to Soiſſons, where he was greatly careſſed by the king of France. He then went to Sens, where he was received by the pope, with all the tenderneſs due to a martyr for the church. Becket's behaviour was equally

equally ſubmiſſive and artful; and he obtained from the pope an anathema againſt all thoſe who ſhould dare to obſerve the conſtitutions of Clarendon.

Henry was very much ſhagreened at theſe tranſactions, and offered the pope not only a perpetual confirmation of Peter's pence, but alſo to extend it to all houſes which made a fire, either in city, town, village, or hamlet, throughout his dominions, provided he would deliver up the archbiſhop. This, however, was refuſed; and Henry, finding he could not prevail, ſequeſtered the revenues of the archbiſhop, but without venturing to forfeit them *.

The Welch commotions now claimed the moſt ſerious attention of Henry and his government. Some differences happened between the earl of Glouceſter, and Rees, prince of South-Wales, in which Eneon, brother to the latter, was killed. Whereupon Rees invaded Cardiganſhire; from whence he expelled the ſubjects of England, and harraſſed the Flemings by many inroads, carrying off a large booty.

David ap Owen, the prince of North-Wales, was encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes to make a league with Rees; and the Welch were unanimous in deſiring to ſhake

* A. D. 1165.

off the Norman yoke, and re-aſſert their ancient independancy. It being, however, late in the year 1164, the inclemency of the ſeaſon would not admit of Henry's making any attempts againſt ſo reſolute a people, in a country ſo inacceſſible.

At this time Frederic Barbaroſſa was under a ſpiritual excommunication by the ſee of Rome; he therefore courted an alliance and correſpondence with Henry; and in the beginning of the year 1165, he ſent over the archbiſhop of Cologn into England to demand Matilda, the eldeſt daughter of Henry, in marriage for his favourite the duke of Saxony. This prelate was received with great reſpect; but the lady being yet only eleven years of age, the marriage was waved for that year. Henry, in the Lent following, went over to Normandy, and had an interview at Giſors with the king of France. His chief view was perhaps to bring over that prince from the connections with the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but if this was his deſign, he failed.

A few days afterwards he returned to England, to put himſelf at the head of the army, which was deſtined to act againſt the Welch.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, he advanced againſt Rutland-Caſtle, which

which was then in the hands of the Welch, to which he began to lay ſiege. But that people, by their union, were now become formidable; and David ap Owen, the prince of North-Wales, had over-run all Flintſhire, and joined his troops with Rees. Henry, fearing to be attacked while he lay before Rutland; or that his retreat might be cut off by a ſuperior force, immediately returned, and ſent commiſſions throughout all his dominions, for raiſing a greater army. He alſo demanded the Flemiſh forces, the eleventh article of his convention with the earl of Flanders, expreſsly ſtipulating, that they ſhould be ready for Henry's aſſiſtance, as ſoon as they were required. The Welch, on the other hand, acted with an uncommon ſpirit of unanimity, and with a reſolution becoming the blood of Britons. Their combined forces came to Corwen; while Henry, having advanced as far as Oſwald's Tree in Shropſhire, encamped there.

Both armies being near, the king ordered part of his army to paſs the river that divided the two camps, which they accordingly did; but before the whole could paſs, they were ſo vigorouſly attacked by the Welch, that a great ſlaughter enſued. Henry, however, ſtill pouring in freſh

troops, forced his paſſage, though he expoſed his own life to imminent danger; Hubert de St. Clair receiving in his own breaſt the arrow, which muſt otherwiſe have pierced the king's. Henry then penetrated as far as Berwin-Hill. The Welch prudently availed themſelves of their ſituation, and without venturing a deciſive battle, beſet him in ſuch a manner, that he found himſelf cut off from all means of ſupplying himſelf with proviſions; and the rains falling, together with the floods from the mountains, reduced his army to ſo diſmal a ſituation, that they were in danger of being loſt. At length, however, he preſerved them by an inglorious retreat. His reſentment for this diſgrace fell upon two ſons of each of the Welch princes, whom, after putting out their eyes, he emaſculated.

This year died Malcolm, ſirnamed the Maiden, king of Scotland, after an inactive reign of twelve years, and in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

Soon after the Welch expedition, Henry went over to Normandy, where, finding all endeavours ineffectual for bringing the court of Rome to reaſon in the caſe of Becket, he determined at laſt to proceed to extremities. Accordingly we find an edict

of

of his publiſhed this year, which imported little leſs than a total ſeparation from the ſee of Rome, for which reaſon he was execrated by the writers of that age. It conſiſted of ſeven articles, the ſubſtance of which is as follows *.

I. If any one ſhall bring letters or mandates of the pope or archbiſhop, containing an interdict of the uſe of the ſervice, ſacraments and holy rites in England, let ſpeedy juſtice be executed upon him as a traitor to his king.

II. No clerk, monk, or other religious perſon ſhall be permitted to paſs beyond the ſeas, or return into England, unleſs he hath a paſſport from the juſtices for his going out, and the king's letters for his return home; if any one doth otherwiſe, let him be impriſoned.

III. No man ſhall bring any command or meſſage from the pope or archbiſhop; whoever doth, let him be taken and detained: neither ſhall any man appeal to the pope or archbiſhop, nor hold any plea by their order or command. If any man acts contrary to this prohibition, let him be impriſoned.

IV. The biſhops, abbots, prieſts, monks, clerks or laymen that ſhall ſubmit to the

* Hoveden,

ſentence of an interdict, they and their kindred ſhall forthwith be caſt out of the nation, and ſhall carry nothing with them: their goods and poſſeſſions ſhall be taken into the king's hands.

V. All Clerks that have rents and eſtates in England, ſhall be ſummoned that they return to them within three months; and if they do not their goods and poſſeſſions ſhall be ſeized to the king's uſe.

VI. The biſhops of London and Norwich ſhall be ſummoned before the king's juſtices to make ſatisfaction for that, contrary to the ſtatutes of the realm, they had interdicted the lands of earl Hugh, and pronounced ſentence againſt him.

VII. That the Peter-pence ſhall be gathered, and ſafely kept for the uſe of the king.

The End of the SIXTH VOLUME.

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